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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

Giv'at Zeev Settlement Expands Into Wheatfields

Giv'at Zeev settlement is moving onto Palestinian land from the neighbouring village of Jeeb. During the past month settlers have started opening a new road and annexed over 100 dunums of land to the settlement, village residents say. Land surveyors are active on other property in the vicinity, which people fear means more expropriation.

The Khalayfeh family, who own 10 dunums in the area, have lost half of their wheat crops, destroyed by bulldozers working on the road, and two dunums of mature olive trees, Salha Abdullah Salman, a housewife in her late 30s, told *Al Fajr*.

Describing the seizure of her land, Salha said the first she and her family knew of the grab was when the bulldozers started work last month. Workers told them they were employed by an Israeli construction company to open a new road. Salha said an Israeli official told them the land was confiscated and invited the owners to take compensation. She said her family refused to accept money.

The family of Abdullah Salman Khalayfeh are planning to take legal action in order to defend their land. Khalayfeh has already contacted a lawyer and published a notice in *Al Quds* newspaper warning people not to deal with his property. His lawyer, George Abu Hashish, from Ramallah, said his client was preparing land documents for the court case.

Some landowners have reportedly agreed, under pressure, to take compensation for their land. Villagers in Jeeb accused the village *mukhtar*, Kayed Jamil Isma'il, of pressuring landowners to sell their land. They say the *mukhtar* helps the Israelis approach the landowners with compensation.

Villagers in Jeeb say they have lost more than half its property to the settlements of Mahane Givon and Giv'at Zeev.

Giv'at Zeev is located within easy travelling distance of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv and, according to Israeli settlement officials, 800 apartments in the settlement have already been sold.

Israeli bulldozers dig trenches for sewage systems in Giv'at Zeev settlement, destroying Palestinian-owned wheatfields (foreground)./AO photo

ILHCR: Fara'a Jail 'Torture Factory'

The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights accused Israeli authorities March 25 of using torture and brutality against prisoners in Fara'a prison, near Jenin. They called it "a factory for extracting confessions."

Secretary Yosef Algazi told a press conference that recently 23 young men aged 13 to 18 from Dheisheh camp were arrested after allegedly stoning military vehicles. They were tortured during interrogation, he said.

He said that neither the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross nor prisoners' lawyers are allowed into the interrogation centre where about 150 Palestinians are detained.

Algazi said he recently met two prisoners, Abd al-Hakim Mathar and Id Abed Ghafar, from Dheisheh, who gave testimonies of torture and maltreament.

Algazi said that interrogators used prolonged interrogations and systematic humiliation to break adamant prisoners and to extract confessions from prisoners who refused to admit committing minor offences against public order, such as stoning military vehicles.

Advocate Felicia Langer said that some prisoners were forced to eat in toilets. Langer, who recently visited eight prisoners at Fara'a, said that one of her clients, Ahmad Shaqu, from Nablus, was forced to sleep and eat in a toilet for several days. Langer said: "He was humiliated and harshly interrogated. Prisoners also were beaten on their genitals and some of them required medical treatment at a Nablus hospital." Langer told reporters that interrogators brought Israeli women to play with prisoners' sex organs as an act of humiliation. Palestinian prisoners live in flooded cells and damp beds, she said.

Langer said that she sent a complaint to Israeli authorities in the name of eight prisoners from Silet al-Harthiya, near Jenin, and Dheisheh camp who were beaten by interrogators. She said that her clients were placed in very wet and cold confinements for prolonged periods. Langer told reporters that authorities do not usually take notice of complaints which reveal a clear violation of basic human rights.

Israeli Shahak, chairperson of the ILCHR, responding to a journalist's argument that there are international investigations of violations of human rights,

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Women Prisoners Victorious, 9-month Strike Ends

The nine-month-long strike by political prisoners at Neve Tertza women's prison, Ramleh, ended March 8 in total victory for the strikers.

Prison governor Ghaza Shohem conceded that the women will not have to cook and wait on their guards in the prison kitchen, the issue which sparked the strike, and returned prisoners' books, according to sources close to the Palestinian women.

The confrontation with the prison authorities broke, the sources said, after the women went on hunger strike March 6 to mark International Women's Day two days later.

The authorities tried repeatedly to meet a delegation of prisoners to get the strike called off but prisoners refused, according to reports from the jail. Prisoners have boycotted the administration since October 31 when they were teargassed in their cells after they protested the removal of their library. Prisoners eventually agreed to meet the governor only after their books were replaced.

After the books were returned a delegation of Rawda Bassir and Rabiha Dhiab went to the governor. They were told they "would not be allowed to cook and serve guards even if they wanted to," the source told *Al Fajr*. The meeting ended with the prisoners wishing the governor a happy Women's Day and being offered tea and chocolate, the source said. The negotiators reportedly refused, preferring to break their fast with their colleagues.

Over the following seven days a full agreement was worked out under which one or two prisoners will work in the kitchen to dish up food. Their rights to newspapers, books and the radio are restored. Prisoners will also not have to clean up after the police or warders.

Prisoners sent messages from the jail thanking their supporters inside and outside the country for their support during the nine-month struggle. They singled out the Democratic Women's Movement, Women Against Occupation, the West Bank Prisoners Committee and their lawyers.

Walid Fahoum, one of the women's lawyers, attributed the prisoners' success to their solidarity, "which the authorities never managed to break," the hunger strike, international and local solidarity, demonstrations by the Israeli feminist movement Women Against Occupation and the plans of their legal team to petition the High Court against the conditions of the women's imprisonment.

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Syria Reviews Lebanon Policies; PSP-Amal Affirm Hegemony in W.Beirut

by Livia Rokach

March 25: While in Damascus the top Syrian leadership is reviewing its policies in Lebanon in light of the failure of the Lausanne conference, in west Beirut the joint forces of PSP and Amal consolidated their political and military hegemony over the popular resistance movement by liquidating the armed presence of the Murabitoun (Sunni Independent Nasserites) in the capital. As the remainder of the French multinational contingent began its withdrawal from Beirut yesterday — the retreat is expected to be completed by Wednesday — an agreement was reached in Damascus between the various forces operating in west Beirut whereby the control of the museum passage between the two sectors of the city and of public order in the centre of west Beirut will be in the hands of the *gendarmerie* and the army's sixth brigade, who take their orders from the resistance joint command.

No agreement has yet been reached as to the opening of the airport. Khalde airport, as well as the road from Beirut to Khalde, are in the hands of Amal but the reactivation of the airport has been prevented by Phalangist threats to shell it from east Beirut if they are not given a share in the holding of strategic positions. Syria, on the other hand, has until now shown little interest to press the rightist 'Lebanese Forces' to give up their intransigence, presumably because the reopening of the airport would grant the opposition forces a margin of independence, also in regard to logistic supplies, *vis-a-vis* Damascus. The closure of the airport since February 1 (as well as of the port, disputed between the resistance forces and the Phalangist troops, who are both present in the area) has completely paralyzed all economic activity in Lebanon.

Anarchy Reigned

The offensive against the Murabitoun's positions, begun on Thursday morning March 22 and actually concluded in that phase within a couple of hours with the closure of all the offices, barracks and checkpoints of the Sunni militia and its aggregate groups as well as of the *Voice of Arab Lebanon* radio station, was justified in a PSP communique by "the state of anarchy reigning in Beirut in the last weeks." The evening before, for the second time in two weeks, an Italian diplomat was kidnapped in a residential area, robbed at gunpoint of his money and car and later released. More than a dozen attacks on French and American nationals resulted in the wounding of several and in the abduction and disappearance of three American citizens: Frank Rugier, an AUB professor, Jeremy Levin, bureau chief for Cable News Network, and, last week, US Embassy first secretary William Buckley.

The abductions, individual aggressions, robberies and harassments, devoid of any political sense, have strongly played into the hands of the Phalangists, who in these days have multiplied their calls to embassies and foreign nationals to transfer to east Beirut, "where they would be protected from terrorism and pressures." No less serious, the PSP communique explains, has been the intimidation campaign undertaken by the Murabitoun "to empty the prevalently Muslim areas of the Christian inhabitants through abductions carried out on an exclusively confessional basis, which is in contrast with our engagement to protect Christians and Muslims without distinction."

Damaged Credibility

In fact, since the liberation of west Beirut on February 6, both Amal and the PSP have invested considerable efforts in persuading Christians who have always resided in Muslim-majority areas that once they accepted the authority of the resistance forces and did not side with the Phalangists, they had nothing to fear and were welcome to stay on and even entitled to special protection and aid. Many Christian families who had shared with their Muslim neighbours the destruction of their homes in the savage shelling by the army and 'Lebanese Forces' of south Beirut neighbourhoods have in fact chosen to stay on rather than emigrate to east Beirut. In the past ten years there have been no similar examples of tolerance towards Muslims in the Phalangist-controlled Christian areas. The damage to the credibility of the major opposition forces' program of a secular democratisation of Lebanese society accruing from the actions of the Murabitoun and their aggregate groups, in particular the Islamic Resistance Front led by Sheikh Kassem, also a Libyan-financed band, is therefore evident.

Negotiations Failed

"The military-political action against the enemies of the Muslim and national ranks," the PSP communique goes on to say, "has become necessary in order to normalise the situation and was implemented, in coordination with the national parties, only following the failure of all efforts and attempts to reach a solution through political negotiations." Amal sources, too, confirmed that all possible efforts had been made so as to reach an agreement through persuasion, among others to avoid giving the impression that the democratic forces were imitating in the areas under their control the terror methods used by the Phalangists towards the Christian population in the 'Bashir state.' But, said an Amal spokesperson, "when certain people pretend not to understand the basic need of the population for a minimum of security, moreover in the midst of a constant war situation, then we have no choice than to force them to obey."

Murabitoun Dismantled

Following the takeover of the Murabitoun positions on Thursday, the PSP units handed over the main centre of the Nasserite organisation at the Gamal Abdel Nasser Mosque on Corniche al-Mazra'a to the *gendarmerie*, whose men, however, retreated when some Murabitoun returned to their headquarters during the night. Consequently battles raged through west Beirut until the complete dimantling of the Murabitoun militia. A ceasefire was then declared and has been holding ever since. The Sunni *Mufti* of Beirut, Hassan Khaled, who assumed a major mediation role in the conflict — the Murabitoun are linked to the Supreme Sunni Council — issued a call for Muslims of all denominations to "remain united against the common enemy, Israel, and to avoid taking up arms against one another."

The conflict has among other things a "Palestinian aspect." Agreements were signed between the Lebanese resistance and PLO-affiliated organisations.

Under the terms of the agreements Palestinian combatants wishing to visit their families or having problems settling in Beirut would be allowed to do so on condition that they do not carry arms or get involved in any way with the Lebanese civil war. Members of the Palestinian resistance visiting the camps of Sabra, Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh have in fact been subject to the strict control of the Amal garrisons under whose control the camps have been placed with the agreement of the Palestinian resistance following the departure of the MNF. Visitors are obliged to leave their identity documents with the Amal command for the duration of their stay — three days to six weeks. Thev are searched for arms at every entry to the camps and their homes are sometimes raided. The major opposition forces maintain the utmost vigilance in this respect through fear of Tripoli-style clashes that would endanger the civilian population — the Palestinians most of all — and ultimately destabilise the situation in south Beirut in the middle of the on-going civil war.

The suspicion that, in violation of the agreement, and following several meetings — the most recent of which took place last week in the Libyan capital between Libyan leader Mu'ammar Qaddafi and PFLP-GC leader Ahmad Jibril — between Fatah dissident leaders Abu Saleh and Abu Mousa and the head of the Murabitoun, Ibrahim Koleilat, a similar infiltration was taking place in the Sunni neighbourhoods of west Beirut controlled by the Nasserite organisation, added, according to well-informed sources in Beirut, one more motivation to the decision taken by the joint PSP-Amal command to affirm an indisputable hegemony over the political and military situation in the capital.

Birth and Rebirth

The Murabitoun, whose ideological substance goes little beyond a fetish-like adoration of the historical figure of Gamal Abdel Nasser, represented, between the mid-1970s and the Israeli invasion of 1982, the Lebanese military extension of Fatah. It, in turn, was considered by Beirut's Sunni bourgeoisie as its own protecting army, both *vis-a-vis* the Phalangist threat of physical annihilation of all Arab nationalists and the 'revolutionary pretensions' of the Lebanese and Palestinian left. Deeply rooted in the Sunni petite bourgeoisie and constituting, thanks to Fatah, one of the best armed groups in the Lebanese National Movement, the Murabitoun, due to their narrow and fanatical sectarianism, their lack of authentic politicisation and their social background, committed in their early years many of the errors which were to cost the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon dearly. Their dispersion following the PLO's evacuation from Beirut and their ulterior dismantling during the subsequent Israeli invasion of west Beirut deprived, however, the Sunni community of its own armed militia.

The rebirth of the Murabitoun as an armed militia, comprising between 500 and 600 militants occurred during the recent months following first the decline of the Sunni bourgeoisie's illusions regarding the possibility to contract through the Gemayel regime an alliance with the Maronite ruling class, then the spectacular military successes of Amal and the PSP, leading to the liberation of west Beirut on February 6. Wishing above all to rally around the liberation forces in the widest possible consensus and to eliminate the suspicions of exclusivist communal ambitions, and especially of a mass 'Shi'ite takeover' with the persistant but unjustified 'Iranian-related' associations, Amal leader Nabih Berri proposed to Sunni dignitaries that they revive the armed presence of the Murabitoun in the prevalently Sunni neighbourhoods. The Sunni community thus again had its own 'armed force.'

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Resistance Fighter Killed Near Zahrani

One south Lebanon resistance commando was killed and two Israeli soldiers were wounded in military attacks between March 21 and 26. Israeli papers reported at least six military attacks against the Israeli army in south Lebanon this week.

The Lebanese fighter was killed March 25 when a commando group ambushed an Israeli patrol five kilometres south of the Zahrani River. The attackers used small arms fire and threw grenades at the patrol. An Israeli military spokesperson later said that one of the attackers was found dead with his weapon next to him after Israeli troops returned fire. The spokesperson claimed that there were no casualties on the Israeli side. There was no Labanese report of the incident.

The following day, national resistance fighters ambushed an Israeli convoy east of Tyre, wounding two soldiers. An Israeli military spokesperson said that an explosive device was detonated by remote control just as a military convoy passed. Israeli troops later searched the area. There was no report of arrests.

A second attack was reported on the same day in the town of Nabatiya. *The Jerusalem Post* said that an explosive device went off as a military patrol passed by it. The paper said there were no casualties.

Two attacks occurred March 22. The Phalangist-run *Voice of Lebanon* radio station said there was a large explosion in the Sidon area. Israeli troops stationed in Tal'at Mar Elias fired machineguns and flares after the attack.

An Israeli military spokesperson acknowledged there was an attack but claimed that small arms fire was directed at a patrol in Sidon. It caused no casualties, he said.

No casualties were reported either after a grenade attack south of the Zahrani River the same day.

In another attack March 23 Israel Radio said guerrillas opened up fire on an Israeli outpost with small arms near the village of Baloul. No casualties were reported.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 204, March 28, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	**19**
Number of articles totally censored out	**4**
Number of articles lost	**1**
Number of articles partially censored but used	**2**
Number of articles passed	**12**

Palestinian Hunger Strikers in Jordan Prison Hospitalised

Fourty Palestinian prisoners, on hunger strike since March 8 in Jordan's Mahattah prison, were hospitalised March 22, according to travellers arriving here from Amman.

The prisoners collapsed after 14 days of hunger strike in protest of prison conditions and detentions without trial, they say. Among those whose health conditions have deteriorated were Nazih Darwazeh, Samer Masri and Omar Awartani, all from Nablus, *Al Fajr* daily reported March 21.

Seventy-eight Palestinian political prisoners, including 40 from the West Bank, are in Mahatta prison, in the suburbs of Amman. Most of them have been held for more than six months without trial.

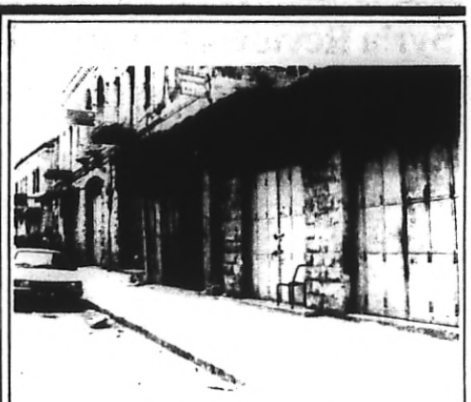
Other prisoners were tried in military courts on political charges and were sentenced to between five and 15 years.

Nazih Darwazeh, a former employee of the Arab Bank in Amman, is serving five years; Omar Mallah, a Nablus-born medical student was given 10 years.

Omar Shiqqu from Nablus, Hashem Hijazi from Hebron and Ghazi Hadib from Ya'abad are also known to have been sentenced.

Prisoners' families in Jordan and the West Bank have issued a statement urging all local institutions and personalities to intervene to save their sons.

Students in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip issued a statement March 24 denouncing what they called the "inhuman treatment" of the Mahatta prisoners. (Translation: Al Fajr, March 21, 23, 1984).



Musrara shops closed March 22 to protest raids by tax authorities/ AO photo

Merchants Strike Over Tax Raids

Jerusalem traders in the Musrara area closed their small shops March 22 after Israeli taxmen raided a neighbouring wholesale store and detained the owner for questioning on his bookkeeping records. The merchants say the tax raids against them are arbitrary.

Mustafa Abu Zahra, 39, was taken from his shop in the Musrara quarter opposite Damascus Gate shortly after 9:00 am. He said on his release that 17 taxmen came to his shop, searched the place and confiscated all his business records. They also searched his home before taking him to the tax department office in West Jerusalem.

The short, chubby man was questioned for 12 hours on his book-keeping methods. A team of investigators grilled him about his business dealings. "Apparently, they were trying to find an error in order to use it as a pretext to impose new taxes on me," Abu Zahra told *Al Fajr*. He added that he was under much strain and pressure, especially from the periodic threats of imprisonment.

Soon after the raid 15 wholesale merchants in Musrara, most of whom have been hit by similiar raids, closed their shops and gathered at the Arab Chamber of Commerce. They sat in there until 7:30 pm.

On the following day, Abu Zahra appeared at the Jerusalem Magistrates Court where he was barred from leaving the country until investigations are completed. His Jordanian passport was confiscated and he was released on IS600,000 bail.

The Musrara commercial district is the main food distribution centre in East Jerusalem. Wholesalers say they have been subject to repeated raids from taxmen in the past two years. Eight merchants have been ordered to pay between IS8 million (US $53,333), and IS58 (US $386,666) in value added taxes.

Haj Ahmad Abu Rumeileh, who has been ordered to pay IS58 million within one month, was charged with concealing bills since 1978. His tax estimate was put at IS2.5 million. The tax department added IS50.5 million to make up for inflation and IS4 million for late payment.

Nasser Risheq, another merchant in the neighbourhood, was ordered March 21 to pay IS1,190,000 of his IS8 million bill within 20 days. If he does not pay, officials say they will seize his assets.

All shopowners in Musrara say they refuse to pay the amounts imposed on them since they do not have the money. "Even if they seize the shop, the stock in it is worth far less than what they are demanding," Abu Rumeileh told *Al Fajr*.

The Musrara merchants are considering making a joint case against the tax department and have sought advice from the Arab Chamber of Commerce.

Fayeq Barakat, head of the Arab Chamber of Commerce in Jerusalem, described the tax raids as "unjustified." He said the high taxes imposed on Palestinian merchants constitute a big blow to merchants, especially under the present economic recession, from Israel's high inflation rate.

Kibbutz Rally Protests Abu Ali Expulsion

Over 400 Palestinian and Israeli political and human rights activists from Tel Aviv, Haifa, the Galilee, Triangle, Gaza Strip and the West Bank gathered at Kibbutz Kerem Shalom close to the southern border of the Gaza Strip March 24 at a rally to oppose the decision to expel Abd al-Aziz Shahin (Abu Ali), a former Palestinian prisoner from Rafah. Israeli authorities are planning to expel Shahin April 5.

Shahin is currently under a banning order in the village of Duhnieh which borders the kibbutz. The military in Duhnieh ignored calls from the demonstrators that Shahin be allowed to witness the rally from the other side of the wire. During the three-hour protest Shahin was ordered confined to the room he has been allotted in the village.

Israeli soldiers and Duhnieh residents lined up on the other side of the wire to watch the rally.

Asher Livni, a member of Kerem Shalom, told those gathered that once he managed to evade military guards and get into Duhnieh village where he saw posters at the village centre threatening anyone who spoke to Abu Ali with six months imprisonment. Livni described Shahin as "a national hero."

Advocate Lea Tsemel, who represents Shahin, spoke about conditions in Duhnieh to which Abu Ali was confined last year. "Israeli soldiers have also been forbidden to talk to Abu Ali," she said. "Whenever he walks in the streets a military jeep follows him." Tsemel asserted that Abu Ali was counted in the 1967 census and said she is ready to prove it at the High Court if the authorities try to go through with their decision to deport him. The Israeli authorities presently claim that Shahin was not registered in 1967. He was arrested in that year and sentenced to 15 years.

Yossi Amitai from Kibbutz Gevulot said Abu Ali's confinement without trial is "unjust, stupid and vindictive," noting that he supports political dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis. "One cannot stop ideas," Amitai said and told the rally he was standing on the border between Egypt, Israel and the future Palestinian state.

One of the demonstrators told *Al Fajr*, "We are against the acts of oppression practised against the Palestinian nationalists." Another added, "If we accept the deportation of Abu Ali, the authorities will widen their policy to all Palestinians in the occupied territories."

Professors Sari Nusseibeh and Khalil Mahshi from Bir Zeit University spoke about the peaceful settlement, the dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians and the establishment of the Palestinian state under the auspices of the PLO.

Mohammed Haj Yahyah from the Taibeh-based *al-Nahda* movement, who spoke in Hebrew, said: "Abu Ali is a prisoner of conscience. Israeli jails are full of Palestinian prisoners of conscience. The land belongs to the Palestinian people and the occupation is controlling it."

Israel Shahak, chairperson of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, criticised the leftist Israeli newspapers *Al Hamishmar* and *HaOlam Hazeh* for not reporting the Abu Ali Shahin case. Shahak said, "We should make a deep social analysis of the situation to prevent future acts of harassment against the Palestinian people."

Uri Avneri, editor of *HaOlam Hazeh*, Matityahu Peled, leading member of the Sheli party, and Mapam's advisor for Arab affairs Latif Dori also spoke at the rally.

The Israeli High Court issued March 26 an order *nisi* against the deportation of Abd al-Aziz Shahin and ordered the military commander of Gaza not to change his status until a final verdict is issued. No date has been set for the hearing.

Al Hamishmar reported March 20 that the fate of the Palestinian leader will be decided by Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens. The paper said some elements in the security services oppose his deportation, fearing that Abu Ali Shahin may join the PLO office in Amman and "cause more damage to Israel." The newspaper added that Shahin played a major role in the PLO-Israel prisoner exchange last November. It alleged he was the one who decided on the list of Palestinian prisoners to be released.

Military Sacks Charity Board

The director of the Tulkarm Red Crescent Society (RCS) and five members of the nine-member administrative committee were dismissed from their posts by the Israeli military March 19 for unspecified reasons.

Sarah Hanoun, the society's director, received a letter March 19 from the Israeli officer in charge of West Bank social welfare informing her that he did not approve their election to the administrative committee.

In his letter, dated March 7, the Israeli officer ordered the reduction of the administrative committee to five members. Two members who were reserves on the election list were appointed by the authorities to join the remaining administrative members. The nine-member committee stood uncontested in a poll of membership last November. According to standing military orders, all elected bodies must be approved by the Israeli officer in charge of social welfare.

Sarah Hanoun, who has headed the society since 1960, said the Israeli measure is based on amended Jordanian laws which make all charitable societies subordinate to the ministry of social welfare. Hanoun said that the occupation authorities "use Jordanian laws whenever it suits their goals. But whenever it contradicts their aims, they replace it with their own military orders," she complained.

Hanoun, who still retains a seat on the central committee of the West Bank Red Crescent Societies, described her sacking as "purely political."

"They want to turn our national institutions into instruments in their (the military authorities') hands," she declared.

In the past few years, the military authorities have tried twice to sack the Red Crescent institution head. Two years ago, the Israeli social welfare officer informed Hanoun that they did not want her to head the association. He was forced to rescind his decision after the intervention of local notables.

The Red Crescent Society in Tulkarm was founded in 1948. The Tulkarm branch, one of eight chapters in the West Bank and Gaza, is involved in charitable work. It founded al-Jihad Hospital and a mother and child care centre, both of which were later taken over by the Jordanian government and are now controlled by the Israeli officer in charge of health. Presently, the society provides health guidance to poor families. The RCS also runs a kindergarten, a centre for literacy education and provides interest-free higher education loans to poor students.

The society offers professional training courses in typing, knitting and sewing. They also run an orphanage.

The employees and members of the general assembly of the Red Crescent Society condemned the Israeli move. Statements published in *Al Fajr* March 22 termed the measure "a political act which will harm the course of the society." The measure was also condemned by the Tulkarm chapter of the Committee for Social Action.

Haifa U. Suspends Arab Student Leader

Haifa University's disciplinary court suspended the head of the Arab Students Committee, Amir Makhoul, March 19 until the end of this semester in June. He was charged with inciting students to prevent a lecture by minister without portfolio Ariel Sharon.

The court, which was set up by the university administration to examine events of January 19, 1984, the day Sharon gave the lecture, also convicted Makhoul of attacking the dean of students. Sources close to the Arab Students Committee accused the court of being "one-sided."

Al Ittihad daily reported March 22 that the court refused to call some key eyewitnesses to give testimony. The paper also charged the disciplinary court had "reversed the facts" and refused to consider Makhoul's complaint that he was attacked and insulted by the dean.

Arab and Israeli students from the progressive Campus students movement demonstrated January 19 to protest against Sharon's invitation to the university and his address to students. Students tried to enter the lecture hall but were prevented by police.

Israeli police who were summoned to quell the protest fired tear gas into the crowd. Five students collapsed under the effect of the fumes.

The Arab Students Committee, which represents all Arab students in the university, issued a statement March 21 condemning the court's ruling, considering it "aimed against Arab students as a whole." The statement charged that the administration's decision intends to "contain the political activities of Arab students."

The Regional Union of Arab University Students also condemned the decision, describing it as "political." In a letter sent to university officials March 22 the Arab Students Committee demanded the university "rescind their decision, pay more attention to the Arab students' problems and stop harassment of them."

There are over than 600 Arab students enrolled at Haifa University.

Students Accuse UNRWA-man of Assault

Students at West Bank UNRWA-run vocational centres accused an UNRWA official of beating up two students in an attempt to force students to sit for the comprehensive exam. The students also blamed the agency as a whole for acting against the student movement. The accusations were made at a meeting convened at the Ramallah Teachers Training Institute March 25.

At the meeting members of the Ramallah institute's student council accused Fathi Abd al-'Al, the vocational centre's director, of beating up two of their members, Mustafa Khalil and Mazen Jari. The students sent two letters to Roy Skinner, UNRWA's West Bank operations director, and the Council of Higher Education outlining their allegations and demanding an "immediate investigation of the incident."

Students said that student council chairperson Mustafa Khalil and secretary Mazen Jari went to the office of the school principal March 17 to investigate warnings issued to students. The two students published statements in local papers saying they were dismissed and beaten by Fathi Abd al-'Al and his sons.

Fathi Abd al-'Al denied the accusations. He told *Al Fajr* that the two students accused him and other UNRWA officials of being collaborators working against the student movement. According to Abd al-'Al, the two council members are second-year students who were not allowed onto the school campus. "I asked them politely to leave the campus but they refused. Therefore I summoned some workers to dismiss them," he said.

Abd al-'Al said 10 first-year students were given warnings because they participated in "creating an atmosphere of anarchy on the campus." Another 163 second-year students were temporarily suspended for the same reason.

At the March 25 meeting students reconfirmed their pledge not to sit for the comprehensive exam which was proposed by the Jordanian Ministry of Education and endorsed by the Israeli 'civil administration' two years ago. The comprehensive exam controversy closed UNRWA institutions for 25 days in February and March. The administration was reacting to a series of student strikes. They say UNRWA imposes the curricula of its host countries — in the West Bank's case, Jordan.

First-year students signed on a letter March 17 in which they agreed to keep order and attend classes at schools and that their signatures on this undertaking do not oblige students to sit for the comprehensive exam after finishing their courses. Second-year students were not asked to sign this undertaking.

Israeli Knesset Votes For Early Election

In a preliminary vote, the Israeli Knesset voted March 22 to dissolve itself and to hold early elections.

Three different early-election bills presented to the Knesset floor by the opposition Alignment, Tami, who thus broke with the ruling Likud coalition, and the Communist Party-led Democratic Front for Peace and Equality were adopted by votes of 61-58, 60-58 and 60-58. The bill is now with the legislation committee which will set the election date before its second and third readings in the Knesset. Present speculation is centred on a possible poll in July.

According to parliamentary regulations, the government stands for five years unless called down by the Knesset by a no-confidence vote or an early elections bid. Elections would have taken place in October 1985.

Israeli newspapers speculate that the Likud will try to push back the election date as far as possible. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is scheduled to meet with the opposition leader March 27 in order to set the polling date.

The Knesset's vote set the election campaign in motion. Former Defence Minister Ezer Weizman, member of the Herut Party and cabinet member until 1981, announced that he will enter on an independent list. Binyamin Ben Eliezer, the defence ministry's coordinator of activities in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, resigned his post to run on Weizman's slate.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party is trying to consolidate its ranks before the elections. The previous Israeli president, Yitzhak Navon, on tour of Canada when the vote was taken, was summoned back in order to discuss the organisation of Labour's campaign.

The Israeli press expects an internal contest between Peres, former Premier Yitzhak Rabin and Navon for the party leadership.

Likud has similar problems. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Deputy Premier David Levy and minister without portfolio Ariel Sharon are all named as possible party leaders.

Palestinians in the occupied territories remain indifferent to the Knesset vote. *Al Fajr* daily in an editorial March 23 said that even if the Labour Party were to win the elections, nothing would change with regard to the Palestinian problem since both the Alignment and the Likud have had similar policies toward the Palestinians. However, observers say, the Labour Party is expected to exploit the Palestinian issue, either through dialogue meetings or informal gatherings with local figures, in order to moderate their image, especially regarding their previous policies of settlement-building in the occupied territories and support for the Lebanon invasion, pushed by the wide appeal of reformist, Labour-dominated groups such as Peace Now.

Stone-Throwing Marks Egypt-Israel Treaty Day

The fifth anniversary of the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty was marked by demonstrations and protests in the occupied territories.

An Egged bus travelling across the 'green line' between Kfar Saba and Qalqiliya and a military patrol stationed near Balata refugee camp in Nablus were stoned March 25.

An Israeli soldier was slightly wounded in Nur Shams refugee camp in Tulkarm the same day when soldiers broke up a demonstration in the camp. A Molotov was thrown during the protest, Israeli reports said. Reports of shots being fired at a bus carrying Israeli soldiers near Anabta were published in the Israeli press.

In Beitunia, Israeli soldiers dispersed a demonstration of high school students protesting the signing of the treaty and recent moves by the Beitunia mayor to normalise relations with the Israeli 'civil administration.'

The day before Israeli soldiers teargassed several dozen students near Yousef's Tomb in the centre of Nablus. They had been stoning settlers who have taken over the shrine. In Jenin's Haifa School students demonstrated and were dispersed by soldiers. Residents of Askar camp stoned an Israeli truck, wounding the driver in the arm.

Ex-Ansar Prisoners Held in Israel

Lawyers representing two Palestinian prisoners arrested in Lebanon and now being held in Israel petitioned the Israeli High Court March 23. Ghassan Tawfiq Zeidan, from the Shouf area, and Mohammed Mahmoud Yunis, from south Lebanon, were transferred from Ansar detention camp to Atlit military prison, south of Haifa, last November, they say.

Jerusalem attorney Felicia Langer petitioned the court after she had tried repeatedly to see her clients. Langer was hired to pursue the cases of the two men last November after they were not released in the PLO-Israel prisoner exchange agreement. She contacted the Israeli Prisons Authority to inquire about them but was told that they were not being held in Israel.

Her own investigation, however, indicated that the two were in Atlit military prison but prison authorities refused to permit her to visit them.

Atlit prison, nearly 12 kilometres south of Haifa, is reported to hold more than 120 Palestinians who were previously prisoners in Ansar. After the November 23 prisoner exchange, in which all Ansar detainees should have been freed, Colonel Salah Ta'mari, one of the leaders of the Ansar prisoners, announced that "hundreds" of prisoners were still in detention.

According to Red Cross reports, Syrian prisoners of war are also held in Atlit prison.

Under the terms of the IV Geneva Convention, prisoners from an occupied area are entitled to see lawyers.

Langer was allowed in to Atlit jail March 26 and met the two prisoners. She said later the authorities have promised that their families will be allowed to see them.

Jerusalem Youths Jailed for Resistance

The Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced nine Jerusalemites, aged 17 to 22, to three to five years in prison March 19 on charges of membership in an illegal organisation and resistance activities between September and October 1982.

Asa'ad Abbas Ashhab, 17, and Jamal Hussein Sinnoqrot, 18, from Beit Hanina, and Walid Yousef Suleiman, 21, and Hussein Ibrahim, 18, from Jerusalem, were sentenced to five years in jail plus two suspended. Ahmad Tawfiq Qutob, 17, Azzam Saber Jundi, 21, Ziad Ibrahim Halawani, 22, Mazen Harbi Sinnoqrot, 21, and Nasser Khalil Karkour, 20, were sentenced to three years plus three suspended.

The youths were arrested last October on charges of establishing links with a Palestinian organisation, writing slogans on the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem, raising Palestinian flags at Damascus Gate and throwing Molotovs and stones at Israeli military vehicles. The young men also were accused of planning to steal a vehicle and kill Israeli soldiers.

Jamal Sinnoqrot

After the Israeli judge issued the court's verdict, Kalthoum Sinnoqrot, 45, father of Jamal, fainted. Twenty-seven family members demonstrated in the court against the harsh sentences. They were removed from the court by Israeli guards.

Nabil Sinnoqrot told *Al Fajr* that the court did not take into consideration the age of the accused. "In fact they did nothing to receive high terms of sentences in jail," Sinnoqrot said.

The Dawn

AL FAJR

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Sorry, But There is Bias

by Ibrahim Dakkak

The participation in the political meeting sponsored by the International Centre for Peace in the Middle East (ICPME) at the American Colony Hotel March 15-17 was done, according to the best available information, with the consent and conviction of the participants of its feasibility. This right to participate should be respected.

The refusal by others to participate in the same meeting, on the other hand, was made, according to the best available information, for the sole reason that they believed the meeting was not justified. It was exptected that their right to refuse should have received the same respect. Nevertheless, the ICPME chose, selectively, to respect the decision of the former and impose itself over the latter.

This is being mentioned because I was invited to participate and turned down the invitation in front of fair witnesses. But the ICPME, regardless of my declining, chose to insist on adding my name to the list of participants without my consent.

I can find no explanation for my name being added in this manner, and perhaps other names, to the list of participants to this political meeting in spite of my rejection, and probably the objection of the others too, except that the ICPME harboured sinister inclinations, the nature of which are well known.

I am not aware of the legal term used to describe such an act but for me it means an attempt to forge my will and utilise my name for purposes to which I do not agree. The immoral act by the ICPME against me and the others adds to my suspicions of the political line of the centre. It claims to work for a just and durable peace in the Middle East, while experience and evidence confirm its denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians.

While there is no objection, in principle, to holding discussions on the Palestinian issue, our experience in the past and our experiment today confirm that the nature of the location and timing at which the dialogue takes place, as well as the political background and the party supervising it, all determine its national merit.

Therefore, I allow myself to express my opinion on the dialogue as long as the centre tries to entangle me, despite its rejected call, with the limits it developed as a base for this dialogue.

In August last year, the ICPME started sending signals to (former Austrian Chancellor) Bruno Kreisky's group in Vienna insinuating that the Palestinians in the occupied territories were shunning away from the PLO and Jordan and were ready to speak directly to the Israelis.

The Austrian Centre for Peace Research was approached by the ICPME in an effort to mobilise moral support for an Israeli-Palestinian-Austrian trialogue to be held in Paris. The Austrian centre donated US$15,000 for the pursuit and tagged the money with a request to hold the trialogue in Jerusalem.

The Austrian delegation which had been invited was surprised upon its arrival in Jerusalem that the ICPME personnel were apologising when it became clear that the Palestinians were neither shunning away from nor were they ready to bypass the PLO. Furthermore, they realised that the proposed list of participants were not even consulted about the whole affair and their names were listed without their prior knowledge.

More was revealed about contacts established by the ICPME with certain centres for the study of conflict in the US, the last of which was with Professor Kalman from Harvard University.

Professor Kalman, to be more specific, called up some Israelis and Palestinians in the territories last November, inviting them to participate in a forum organised by his centre on the study of conflict resolution to seek ways to break through the impasse the Palestinian issue was facing.

Some accepted the invitation freely and others rejected it without any pressure. I happened to be among those who refused to participate as a matter of conviction.

The conference was held in Harvard in February. Among those who attended were (Harvard researcher) Walid Khalidi, (former US State Department official) Harold Saunders and five Israeli Knesset members. Yossi Sarid, an MK himself, delivered a speech at the conference on February 9 summarising their position *vis-a-vis* the Palestinian question and the ways they saw leading to its solution.

No one objected. The meeting was viewed by the observers as an academic exercise. Freedom of opinion was thus highly respected, despite the fact that the timing of the meeting was noticeably geared to coincide with the Tripoli events.

The ICPME in Tel Aviv, in order to serve its dubious purposes, grabbed the opportunity without hesitation. It called for further discussion, but this time outside the academic framework. The subject was Yossi Sarid's proposals for the resolution of the Palestinian problem.

However, some agreed and others rejected the invitation. Those who refused to participate did so because they were convinced that such a conference was unjustifiable under the present circumstances and conditions. Those who agreed to attend considered the meeting a continuation of the academic exercise at Harvard (*Al Fajr*, March 16, 1984).

Had the ICPME declined to publish a list of names including those who participated and those who refused or who were not even invited, no fuss would have erupted. But the mere fact that it did raised concern from the Palestinians over what was really going on.

The questions and queries that surfaced were legitimate and justified. The uncertainties engulfing the area, the rising volume of problems and Sarid's hostile views expressed in Harvard contributed to their fretting.

The position of the Israeli MKs as expressed by Sarid could be summarised in two points. The first, as was stated in the original English text:

"The Jewish people settled in Zion will recognise the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination—and the Palestinian Arab people on its part recognise the right of the Jewish people to self-determination in its homeland..."

Mr. Sarid did not bother to define 'Zion' or 'homeland' in his eloquent rhetoric.

Strangely enough, these hostile views drew from Walid Khalidi accommodating, polite and weak comments.

However, stripping Sarid's speech of puns, frills and magniloquence, it is reduced to a demand for the acceptance of the Camp David agreements and Reagan initiative. Mentioning the Fez plan in his presentation served to keep the evil eye away from the Israeli expansionist plans.

If Mr. Sarid sees in the Likud's rejection of the Reagan initiative a reason for the Palestinians to accept it, then he must have missed his aim by believing so, despite the fact that he was able to provide himself with a leftist Zionist cover.

To repeat for those who do not yet understand what they should have grasped all along, the Palestinian people is not ready to offer services at the cost of its national interests and inalienable rights to the Zionist left to help it in its efforts to extract itself from its contradictions that resulted basically from its attempts to reconcile its expansionist ambitions with its wish to appear as democratic liberals.

Therefore, it is our right to object to the methods of the ICPME in Tel Aviv, which tries to use opportunities and ignores the intelligence and memory of our people. It is our right also to tell Walid Khalidi, 'thanks for your kind response, but... there is bias,' and to say to Yossi Sarid and his colleagues 'try something else.'

On Fact-finding Missions

To the editor:

In principle, maybe, one can get all the facts about the Palestinian situation in one's home country. But one can never imagine the reality. At least you cannot imagine the human aspects which are a part of the facts and figures. And when I say the human aspects, I think of the humiliation, the fear and the sorrow the Palestinian people are feeling. But I also think of the power they have, their hopes, and, in spite of the humiliation and the exploitation, their self-confidence and hospitality.

Of course, everybody visiting Palestine wants to find out about the situation and ought to have read what is available before the visit. You don't have to visit Palestine to get pure facts except for the most up-to-date happenings. But on the other hand, I think there is a political and historical process going on all the time. And you cannot necessarily read this process from the straight facts. Through a visit you can put facts together and get a more adequate, a deeper understanding of the situation.

But there are also other moments. For instance you have the problem of Zionist propaganda. Here in Norway this propaganda is strong. So the problem is how to verify the facts. And sometimes the problem is how to believe these facts are true. And most important, how to argue with the friends of Israel. It is easier to convince people when you have experienced the situation yourself. And finally you are more motivated to support the struggle of the Palestinian people when you have seen the humiliation, the terror, the exploitation. You will never forget what you have seen and heard. You understand and believe Bassam Shaka'a's words: "The facts will bring us justice."

But of course, such a visit can have its own cost. As visitors, we ought to be aware of the danger in which we can put our hosts. It is dangerous to be a Palestinian and to struggle for the rights of the Palestinian people. But I have asked Palestinian friends; 'What effect will such a visit have on you?' The answer is clear: "It gives power to the people. They get power when they know that people outside are supporting them."

I think only Palestinians have the right to give an answer to this question. And only history can decide if the answer is right. But history does not make itself; people do. So then, each of us are responsible for the answer. And especially as visitors in Palestine, we have the responsibility to do what we can do: to talk and write in our home countries about the situation of the Palestinian people. We ought to be organised in groups. Then, perhaps, we also can work on higher political levels.

The effect may not be as strong as we wish. At least not through one individual. There is still a long way to go. And the despair the Palestinian people may experience, I can only imagine when I am overwhelmed by a feeling of helplessness. But I don't know any other way to take part in the liberation struggle. And on the other hand, after I have experienced the pride and power of the Palestinian people, I know the struggle will result in victory.

Oyvind Sagedal
Norway

'Stewing in Depression'

Dear Editor,

Following you will find a list of words!

For each and every headline of this week's paper, one word has been chosen and listed: bombs, shoot, destroy, clash, memorial, killed, closed, prisoners, ceasefire, death, permit, transfer, expel, liberation, arrested, banned, settlers, whiff, dialogue, turning, gunboat, atmosphere, aid, women's, push, demonstration, freedom, dearest, agreement, withdrawal, force, relations, will, resolutions, peace, torture, Uzi, illegal, kills, stoned, strike, settlement, free, accredited, army, close, vandalised, sentenced, membership, taken, bread, arsoned, no-man, firebombs, threaten, west, youths, returns, power, escape, bomber, planted, children, complain, assaulted, bomb, explosion, schools, taxes, olympics, farfetched, security, war.

The situation does not seem good! Is there nothing of joy or happiness going on in our lives in this country at this time? Is it not a mistake to constantly 'stew' in the depression of our situation? Let us try!

Sincerely,
Jackie Lubeck
March 16, 1984
Jerusalem

Land Day (March 30) is an anniversary given to the Palestinian national movement by their compatriots living inside the 1948 borders of the state of Israel. 'The Land' (*al-Ard*) was also the name of the first nationalist-oriented movement of that community. **Awad Abdel Fattah** of *Al Fajr* recently spoke to founders and members of the movement who recalled the organisation's five-year history and the legacy it left.

Al Ard **Remembered: The Nationalist Legacy on the Land**

Twenty years have passed since the Israeli authorities banned *al-Ard* movement, the first Palestinian nationalist movement to appear within the 1948 borders of Israel. *Al Ard* (The Land) movement lasted only five years, but in that time acquired wide support among Palestinians. It was outlawed under the British Emergency Regulations after the authorities accused it of supporting the destruction of the state of Israel.

In effect the ban dispersed the leading members of the movement and prevented them from resuming organised political life in a national Palestinian struggle. Its leaders and a number of activists were either internally exiled or restricted to their towns for long periods of time. Two leaders, Sabri Jiryis and Habib Qahwaja, left Palestine after their town restrictions were removed; Jiryis worked in the Palestine Research Centre in Beirut and Qahwaja travelled to Syria. Others have stayed and joined committees or societies which work for specific issues related to Palestinians inside Israel.

Mansour Kardosh, one of the leading members of *Al Ard* movement, is now an active member in the Prisoner's Friends Society and *Al Sawt* cultural society.

Al Ard Starts After Split

After 1948 most of the Palestinians who held strong national sentiments could only work politically through the Israeli Communist Party or the left-Zionist Mapam party. Former members say they joined these parties for emotion rather than awareness of their political platforms. Their support was only half-hearted.

Former *Al Ard* activist Radwan Said — a labourer in Kufr Kanna who was confined to his village for 10 years after the banning — elaborated on this point. He said the Palestinian nationalists wanted to promote their aspirations through any group which showed a minimum support for the rights of the Palestinians. He himself was an active member in the Mapam Party for two years. "But," he remarked, "after I discovered that Mapam is a Zionist party and its platform contradicted my feelings and aspirations, I dropped it and joined the Communist Party." There, his national aspirations clashed with the 'internationalism' adopted by the Communist Party and he found it impossible to continue in its ranks after six months. "Our problem is not a class problem but is a national one," he said.

In 1958, the Israeli Communist Party initiated a plan to incorporate the nationalist elements into its ranks on the basis of a coalition called the 'Popular Front.' The initiative came after a campaign of arrests against the communists, the only organised force which fought against Israel's discriminatory policy.

Just one year later political differences broke out within the Popular Front between the nationalists and the Communists, reflecting the political differences which had developed into verbal war between the Arab national movement in the Arab world, led by the then President of Egypt Gamal Abd al-Nasser, and the then Communist-backed President of Iraq Abed Karim Qassem. The nationalist elements discovered that they had one common point, "that Arab nationalism is the decisive force to solve the Palestinian problem," as Mansour Kardosh put it.

The attacks on the popular Abd al-Nasser in the party organ *Al Ittihad* deepened the conflict and the national elements walked out of the alliance.

After the demise of the Popular Front a number of nationalist elements concluded they must establish an independent Arab organisation. "There was the opportunity and need to intensify the struggle for the rights of the Palestinians and for this purpose it was worth cutting oneself from the narrow party outlook of the Communist Party," Kardosh said. The initiators immediately contacted Palestinian intellectual and nationalist figures for consultations and decided that the most important step was to publish a newspaper "that would express the ideas of the new movement and would gather many people around it," Kardosh remembers.

The initiators contacted democratic Israeli groups and newspapers in 1959 to try and arrange press facilities. Among these newspapers was (the left Labour Party) Mapam's Arabic organ *Al Fajr*, which agreed in principle to print the paper on their presses. But the editor of the newspaper, Simha Flapan, changed his mind and refused to cooperate. Fawzi al-Asmar, a journalist on the Mapam paper and an *Al Ard* activist, wrote in his book *To Be An Arab In Israel*: "To me it was obvious that it was impossible to cooperate with the Zionist Party. Simha Flapan had thought that because of the split between the Communists and the Arab nationalists it would be possible to pull the splinter group into Mapam." He said Flapan virtually commanded him to cut contacts with what was to become *Al Ard*.

To get their paper out the movement did not wait for the publication permit which its members had applied for and the paper began publishing through a loophole in British mandate laws allowing anyone to publish a single issue of a newspaper. "We decided," Kardosh said, "to use this right just as Jewish organisations had done before the establishment of the state of Israel and we organised a number of the members to publish the newspaper once a week, using a different name but always including the word *Al Ard* in the title." The name was chosen, according to one former member, because of the major issue of land control and the coincidence of a large confiscation campaign.

There was tremendous excitement and anticipation about the first issue of *Al Ard*. Radwan Said recalls that scores of young people waited outside the printing press. Mansour Kardosh, Saleh Baransi, Habib Qahwaja, Mahmoud Sruji, Sabri Jiryis and many other founding members and supporters volunteered to distribute the paper in the streets and to raise donations.

Israeli Anger Makes the Group More Clear

After the appearance of the first issue, the Israeli press started a series of attacks and slanders against the movement. It accused them of having "anti-Israeli ideas" and of "planning to create underground cells."

As the slanders increased in vitriol *Al Ard* replied in its paper saying that the attacks in the Israeli press were "originated and directed by the Israeli secret service" and that its objective was to deny Arabs the basic right of self-expression.

In another attempt to counter the Israeli press campaign the movement further clarified its objectives in the form of a statement. Their second editorial attacked the secret service men who were trying to contact members of the movement "to influence them to collaborate with the security forces to inform them of events in the movement and of their future plans. When were there ever secrets among *Al Ard* members?" the editorial asked. "*Al Ard* members began their activity by distributing a programmatic letter in which their objectives were stated. This letter was sent to the Israeli press and to all members of the Knesset. One cannot say, therefore, that we were working secretly but publicly and openly."

To support this stand, the basic demands of the movement were enclosed: "An end to military government, return of plundered land to their owners and an end to expropriation of land and the Judaisation of the Galilee; raising the standard of Arab schools, Arab economy and peasants, and the return of Arab refugees to their villages."

The Structure of the Movement

The *al-Ard* movement brought together people with different and sometimes conflicting opinions. This explains why there was no clear political platform from the beginning. According to Fawzi al-Asmar, there were both leftists and rightists, Nasserites and Ba'athists, "some of whom were leaning rather to the left, others to the right, and a large number of young Arabs who were quite bewildered politically."

Kardosh told *Al Fajr* that at that time there were many Arabs looking for an independent organisation "and that is what they found in *al-Ard*." He remarked that many of those who joined were young — students and intellectuals. Other people who joined were merchants, peasants and workers. Within a few months a huge number of people joined *al-Ard*, "which frightened the Israeli authorities and the various parties in Israel," wrote Fawzi al-Asmar.

Al-Ard was not organised like other parties which supervise their members through their internal constitutions. Supporting the main guidelines of the movement and reading the newspaper on a regular basis was enough for a person to be considered "as belonging to *al-Ard*." The founding members believed that through the newspaper they could organise people and bring them together for struggle.

With the growing support among Palestinians inside Israel for the movement and the emergence of new tasks before it, heated arguments over the formation of the platform and the attitude toward certain issues started. Among these issues was the attitude to elections and the issue of cooperation with Israelis. The majority held that the elections should be boycotted. Others said such a stand would strengthen the Zionist parties. The *al-Ard* boycott call was said to be the reason for the severe defeat to the Communist Party in the 1960 poll. Its Knesset representation dropped from six to three.

The majority of *al-Ard* members voted for cooperation with Jewish groups. Contacts were established between *al-Ard* and the 'Third Force,' an Israeli leftist organisation, with the Semitic Action Group and with all groups and individuals who supported the rights of the Palestinians.

The next internal struggle concerned a proposal to register *al-Ard* as a legal body. After more bitter struggle, the platform it tried to register called for the application of the 1947 partition plan. "Recognition of the United Nations decision of November 29, 1947 would provide a solution for the Palestinian problem, a just solution which would maintain the rights of both the Israeli-Jewish and Palestinian-Arab peoples..." Other points stipulated "support of liberation, unity and socialism in the Arab world in all legal ways, recognising the Arab national movement as the decisive force in the Arab world, meaning that Israel should regard it positively."

continued on page 13

Following his recent survey of the Palestinian newspapers, *Al Fajr's* **Awad Abdel Fattah** visited the magazines published in the occupied territories. Here is his report.

Palestinian Magazines: Platforms for Literary Expression and Political Analysis

In the last few years, eight different magazines have appeared in the occupied territories, all based in Jerusalem. Each magazine has fought its own battle with the Israeli authorities and succeeded to push its way through political and financial obstacles. Under military law used by the Israelis, permits are required from the government before any publication can appear. Owners waited a minimum of two years for an answer from the Israeli authorities; even then only a small percentage of applications are approved. Once that major roadblock is passed, a second permit is needed from the military government to distribute a publication to its major audience in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Since 1979, when the new regulation was introduced by the Israelis, no magazine has received the permit to distribute outside Jerusalem.

All magazines, along with newspapers, without exception fall under the same restrictions of censorship. However, some editors claim that their magazines are more censored and restricted than others which they say are 'not radical.' An example which is often brought up is *Al Shira'* magazine which was closed down in August 1983 by the Israeli authorities without explanation. *Al Shira'* was known among Palestinians as the most critical magazine in the occupied territories.

While the Palestinian newspapers deal mainly with news and daily events as they relate to the Palestinian cause and people, the role of the magazines is confined to analysing these events and researching local issues. Each magazine is different in its approach on almost every issue and to some extent reflects different political trends.

Some appear to be absolutely loyal to what they have lately started to call 'Palestinian legitimacy,' and consequently this political stand is reflected in coverage of important issues. Other magazines likewise committed to the general policy of the PLO are often critical of particular political steps which they might view as a shift in political perspective.

Most of the magazines in the occupied territories are owned by individuals or families who unilaterally decide the policy of the magazine. Journalists who have a political line sharply different from that of the magazines' owners must work within the framework of the already decided policy of the magazine. However, more liberalism is shown by the magazines than by the newspapers towards journalists and writers of different political persuasions. This is partially due to the fact that about half of the existing magazines are literary and cultural.

Concerning the development of the magazines in the occupied territories, journalists believe that the magazines in general have made great strides in form and content and in attracting readers. "Their level is even higher than those elsewhere in the Arab world," says editor of *Al Fajr al-Adabi* Ali Khalili.

Al Fajr al-Adabi

Al Bayader al-Adabi

Literary Magazines

There are two literary magazines published in Jerusalem: *Al Fajr al-Adabi* (Literary *Al Fajr*) and the eight-year-old *Al Bayader al-Adabi* (Literary Threshing Floors), the first literary publication since 1967.

As the first, *Al Bayader al-Adabi* drew the interest of most of the leading writers in the occupied territories, who contributed to *Al Bayader* on a voluntary basis. A five-member editorial staff conducted the magazine's affairs. "Our purpose," said Jack Khazmo, "was to publish local literary efforts and boost the literary movement in the occupied territories." According to writers and readers, *Al Bayader al-Adabi* was widely read in the first three years of its publication. But political differences between the editorial staff and regular contributors, as well as the appearance of other literary and cultural magazines, caused a sharp drop in sales. In the last three years or more *Al Bayader* has been produced by Jack Khazmo, his wife and one other journalist. (Effort was also siphoned into a second Khazmo publication in 1981, *Al Bayader al-Siyassi*, see below).

The magazine reduced in size from 68 to 48 pages and today only 20 percent of the material is locally written. This has been the main criticism of the magazine from journalists and writers in the occupied territories. They agree that the material published is 'good quality' but argue it should concentrate on local work.

Al Bayader's editorial staff explain that the artistic level of the writers has fallen and they no longer have the financial capability to pay writers who might work for them.

Al Fajr al-Adabi is published by *Al Fajr* daily newspaper and edited by writer Ali Khalili. It appears monthly in book form with 120 pages. On its inside cover it publishes works by local Palestinian artists every issue. Apart from this there are few pictures or graphics.

The first issue of *Al Fajr al-Adabi* as an independent monthly literary magazine appeared in March 1982. It stands on four principles which are emblazoned on the first page of every issue: "Toward a Palestinian progressive literary movement in the occupied territories; to promote our local literature everywhere and to keep our distinct literary voice in existence; and to maintain contact with the international and Arab literary movement."

Al Fajr al-Adabi started as regular pages in *Al Fajr* Arabic daily. Until 1980 it appeared twice weekly, carrying short stories and poems. From 1980 to 1982 it appeared as an independent monthly supplement distributed with the daily paper. Ali Khalili brought it out as an independent magazine so that all the works he receives from writers and poets could appear.

Ali Khalili, who is the sole supervisor of the magazine, said that he gives first priority to the work of local writers and poets, including amateurs . According to him about 90 percent of each issue originates locally. The rest of the space is dedicated to Arabic and international literature. "My purpose," he explained, "is to encourage beginning writers and help develop the Palestinian literary movement in the occupied territories." He admits that this has kept the readership low.

Because literature is not seen as having a direct influence on the daily life of the Palestinians and general politics, there is no restriction by the administration on the choice of material. Writers of various political directions have access to *Al Fajr al-Adbi*. Ali Khalili says that he is the one who decides the content. "I open the magazine to national and progressive literature, and exclude reactionary literature," he remarks.

Beside the short stories and poems which are published in *Al Fajr al-Adabi*, there are regular short studies and interviews with Palestinian writers, poets or literary critics. Another regular feature are critiques of literature in the occupied territories. *Al Fajr al-Adabi*'s staff is composed of local poets and writers working on a voluntary basis.

Al Kateb

Al Kateb

Al Kateb defines itself as a literary, cultural and political magazine. On one corner of the cover, under the name of the magazine, is the motto "For Human Culture and Progress." In talking about the magazine, the editor, Jamil Salhout, hurries to explain the motto. "What we mean by human culture," he said "is progressive human thought which serves humanity and reinforces human relations among all the world's peoples. And what we mean by progress is to be hostile to imperialism in all its forms."

Al Kateb started publication in 1979 after it obtained a license following a decision issued by the Israeli High Court. The decision followed two years of waiting and battles with the Israeli authorities. In the first issue of the magazine, an introduction was published about the difficulties faced in getting the publishing license. The Israeli authorities' allegation was that the applicant, Assad al-Assad, present editor-in-chief of the magazine, was an active member of the banned Palestinian Communist Party.

The magazine started with very poor financial resources. It is still based in a two-room office in al-Ram, a Jerusalem suburb. Despite this, what began mainly as a literary outlet continued to develop and expand both in form and content although it has retained its characteristic booklet size.

The editors say that their magazine differs in substance from other local literary magazines. "We try to publish only good literature," Bassam Salhi, one of the editors, told *Al Fajr*. Neither do they focus on writers-in-exile nor on fledgling writers.

Al Kateb is known for its publication of Palestinian prisoners' literature on a regular basis. The editorial staff is planning to issue a special supplement on literature by prisoners on April 17, 'Day of the Prisoner.'

Among regular columns of the magazine are: interviews with well-known Palestinian writers or poets, critiques of literature, articles on Palestinian culture and poems and studies on different subjects. Analytical, political or social articles appear in the first half of the magazine. Like any other magazine, there is an editorial which is usually decided on jointly by the seven-member editorial staff.

Al Kateb periodically publishes excerpts from Marx's works or from Marxist thinkers. Works by writers and poets of international reputation are also published on a regular basis.

Last year *Al Kateb* sponsored a symposium on the conditions of the Palestinian working class in the occupied territories in which a large number of leading unionists and academics took part. About 50 pages of the 160-page magazine were dedicated to the subject.

Policy and decision-making is decided equally by the staff. "We have collective work here," said Bassam Salhi. "The magazine is not owned by anybody and we don't work to make money." Jamil Salhout said none of the editorial staff are employed full-time; they only receive symbolic salaries. In response to criticism that *Al Kateb* is a magazine for the intelligentsia and has no 'light' or frivolous columns, Salhout said: "We are under occupation and the tasks we face are very heavy. This is why our paper is serious."

Al Bayader al-Siyassi

Al Awda

Al Ahd

Political Magazines

Unlike the literary magazines, whose readership is limited, Palestinian political magazines have wide circulation. The political magazines have special importance in local political life, and more attention and work goes into the political magazines. Their format and layout is more sophisticated and all have colour photographs on their covers.Competition is sharp, particularly between the two leading weeklies, *Al Bayader al-Siyassi* and *Al Awda* (The Return).

Al Bayader, was first issued by the editorial staff of *Al Bayader al-Adabi* in 1981 and is generally considered to be better produced than the newer *Al Awda*. The contents of the two magazines are similar. *Al Bayader* has shifted its position closer to Jordan. *Al Bayader* called repeatedly for PLO Chairperson Yasir Arafat to go quickly to Amman and to conduct negotiations before recent PLO-Jordan summits without preconditions. *Al Awda* maintained a more reserved line.

Both regularly report on the present Palestinian situation, the situation in Lebanon, the situation in the occupied territories and Israeli settlement policy. Medical, social, cultural and educational institutions in the West Bank are well-covered and there are features on Palestinian villages all over the country. The Israeli peace forces and the internal situation in Israel and current news also get attention. *Al Awda* has dedicated more attention to features about issues related to the Palestinians within the 1948 borders of Israel. Palestinian villages, land confiscation and discriminatory policy against local Arab councils are among these issues. "We see it as necessary," said Ibrahim Qara'in, one of the editors of *Al Awda*, "to make the Palestinian residents of the West Bank aware of the conditions of their brothers in the Galilee, the Triangle and the Naqab." According to him, their policy is to concentrate on the local issues and not to reprint articles from other Arabic newspapers.

The policy of the magazine is made and managed at a weekly meeting of the seven-member staff Radwan Abu Ayyash, another editor, said. The editorial is governed by the general policy of the Jerusalem-based Palestine Press Office, which issues *Al Awda*.

Al Bayader employs 25 people, according to editor Jack Khazmo, and all editorial decisions are taken by the three founders of the magazine. "Each one of the staff has his own job," he said, explaining the situation.

Neither magazine publishes articles dealing with issues raised by the Palestinian left.

Al Ahd (The Oath) is the newest magazine in the West Bank. It appeared on the streets at the very end of 1983. It has appeared fortnightly since then and is published by *Al Mithaq*.

Al Ahd is not in competition with the other magazines and does not have the same production standards. Its content clearly reflects the political perspective of the opposition within the PLO although some mainstream opinions have appeared. According to readers its radicalism is one of the main reasons it is attracting growing interest. Commenting on this, Mahmoud Khatib told *Al Fajr* that *Al Ahd* "is giving opportunities to journalists and writers who are deprived of writing in other newspapers and magazines." According to him, some contributors work for free and others receive symbolic pay.

Al Ahd's lack of money and staff are reflected in poor production and the shortage of features on local issues. About 50 percent of the 60-page magazine is dedicated to political and ideological articles about the Palestinian cause, leadership and Arab issues.

In response to a question about why there is very little coverage of local issues, the editor said most of its material is censored. "We are forced to fill the space with articles from Arab magazines and papers," he said.

Al Ahd has come to be known in the occupied territories for its left position. Some people even accuse it of being "extreme and unreasonable." The editors of the magazine are aware of their critics but say they "don't care."

"Let them say whatever they want," Khatib said. "We are writing for all parties. We keep a balanced and objective magazine. The Palestinian masses should know everything."

The magazine is not yet organised into a standard format. There are no regular columns. There are also no formal editorial meetings to discuss content. Khatib said usually writers suggest ideas for articles or feature stories to him. "It is not me as an individual who decides on everything that is published in *Al Ahd*," he elaborated.

Al Ahd's editorial usually is very strong and when being critical of the "rightist leadership in the PLO" is "very harsh and sometimes lacks the rules of objective criticism," in the view of a journalist on another paper.

An Islamic Magazine

Until two years ago, there was no organ for the Palestinian Islamic institutions and groups in the occupied territories. There was an Islamic magazine from the 1950s until the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. But like other Palestinian newspapers, the new political conditions resulting from the Israeli occupation forced a halt to the magazine.

At the beginning of 1981 the Islamic *waqf* (charitable foundation) in Jerusalem decided to issue an Islamic magazine. After a one-year wait for a license it first appeared in 1982. The magazine is called *Huda al-Islam* (The Islamic Guide) and focuses on Islamic theological issues. It comes out in booklet form with very few pictures but with much decoration on the frame of almost every page. Pictures are printed only with the regular feature stories, which are usually about Palestinian institutions in the occupied territories.

Huda al-Islam is the only Islamic magazine, not only in the 1967 occupied territories but in all of Palestine. "Our magazine is distributed in an parts of Palestine," said Sheikh Ikrima Sabri, the editor-in-chief. He added that the distribution is done privately through Islamic groups. According to him they distribute 10,000 issues; more than half of this number is to subscribers.

Huda al-Islam is the only Palestinian magazine which ignores politics. In all 16 issues which have so far been issued, there has not been a single article with a political theme. "We don't interfere in the politics of the PLO or the Arab countries," Sheikh Ikrima said. "We are living in times which are constantly changing. We don't want to support or praise some political side which might turn out to be bad the next day."

But they don't and even cannot ignore attacks on the Islamic holy places, such as the mosques. The magazine covered these events and provided analysis and comment. The series of attacks on *al-Aqsa*, the Hassan Beq Mosque in Jaffa and the bloody attack on Hebron University last summer got full coverage in the magazine. When criticising the Israeli authorities, the magazine tries to use indirect terms, in an attempt to escape censorship.

Each of the eight Palestinian magazines has fought its own battle with the Israeli military authorities. *Al Shira'* (above) was closed in August 1983 by the Israeli authorities without explanation. All must submit their material to military censors, including *Huda al-Islam*. (below), the only Islamic magazine published in Palestine.

The non-interference of the magazine in the politics of the West Bank and in politics in general does not mean that the five-member editorial staff do not have political views. But since it is an Islamic magazine, different Islamic issues are discussed and explained "in order to make Muslims aware of their religion and rule out any possibility of distorting it," said Kamel Qadi, one of the editors.

Although all the staff members are well-versed in the Islamic religion their contribution to writing work is very small. According to Kamel Qadi, most of the content is written by people outside the editorial group, who see their main task as to get material and respond to letters from readers. "So far," he said, "97 people of different educational levels have contributed." Those who write long researched articles are paid JD20 for each contribution.

Israeli censorship does not ignore this religious magazine. All material has to go to censorship. According to the editors, censored articles have dealt with Israeli practices in holy places and articles about *al-Jihad* (holy war).

THE PEOPLE SAY

This Land is Our Land

by Nora Sus

An oft-repeated criticism of 'foreigners' — and especially Americans — by Palestinians is that they have little sense of history; not only do they not know or remember what happened yesterday but deliberately use the 'freshness of the day' to their advantage. In the Middle East, for example, once, twice, thrice-rejected plots are reworked, renamed and reintroduced to solve the latest changed circumstances. The long string of rejected plans could fill a book, and indeed they do... It is refreshing to discover a book about the occupied West Bank and Gaza that views the Israeli occupation as a 17-year slice of history with roots in the previous and continuing Jordanian presence in the area, in which a people played a major, dynamic part. Originally published in German in 1980 *This Land is Our Land*, jointly authored by Jan Metzger, Martin Orth and Christian Sterzing, has only recently been made available in English translation (Zed Press, 1983). The gap of 3 years has outdated many of the book's facts, especially information on the fast-growing settlements and the now dismissed municipalities. But the book has so many strengths that it is recommended as an excellent overview, and underview, of the continuing struggle of the West Bank and Gaza populations against foreign domination. *This Land* will not stand up to academic scrutiny, to the satisfaction of those looking for a few holes to poke. The authors did not research in original Arabic or Hebrew and, as they themselves point out in the bibliographical note, much of their documentation has been dug out of a wide variety of third sources. (On the other hand, the 230 informative footnotes to chapter 6 are sure to impress the stuffiest stuffed shirt.) The contribution of *This Land* is that it allows the Palestinians to give their own accounts and opinions within the historical framework the authors have exposed, producing a vibrant, well-woven story of a people occupied but fighting at every opportunity. It is full of small and large scraps of information about local political resistance to both the Jordanian and Israeli occupation. For example, the fact that "thousands of intellectuals and nationalists... were thrown into prison and concentration camps" and West Bank demonstrations suppressed when martial law was declared for two years between 1955 and 1957 to control opposition to the Jordanian government's part in the Baghdad Pact. On the eve of the 1967 war, also, many leaders of the opposition were in prison, punished for a wave of demonstrations against the king. The collusion and conflict of Jordanian and Israeli interests since 1967, and the position of nationalist, bourgeois and progressive elements toward both, is charted very well by the authors and those they interveiwed, helping readers understand the composition and decomposition of fragile nationalist coalitions. A chapter entitled 'New Alliances: The Social Structure' very roughly shows who are the few who win and the many who lose in the Israeli-controlled West Bank economy. This analysis, although rudimentary, is very useful in understanding the particular type of class-concepts operating in the occupied territories and the differences between the West Bank and Gaza power structures.

In 'Birth of a National Consciousness' the authors trace the emergence of the National Front, the later National Guidance Committee (overemphasising the importance of the Communist Party in both), their relation to the PLO outside, the 1972 and 1976 elections, the role of traditional leaders, collaborators and Jordanian agents and the leftist opposition. It is a rich account, full of interviews, manifestos, signed documents, on-the-ground events, rumours and, through it all, the strong thread of nationalist feelings trying to find a voice. The authors seemed to make a sincere effort to interview individuals of a variety of opinions but among the left its contacts are too obviously close to the Communist Party and disparaging of 'Rejectionists.'

Some effort is made to stake out the positions of the cacaphony of Israeli groups opposed to the occupation, in whole or part. An index would have made the book of much more use and one wonders why Zed Press did not include one.

The strong political bias of the authors will probably not sit well with anyone not of similar persuasion. But it is a well-written, well-illustrated, well-documented book, with a rope-sized thread of history and analysis usually missing from a 'foreigner's' view of the occupied territories.

A 1976 letter signed by West Bank mayors and addressed to Arab heads of state meeting in Cairo affirms local support for the PLO, one of many documents in *This Land* attesting to "the strong thread of nationalist feelings trying to find a voice."

God Cried, **a Beirut Testament**

by Hanna Assadi

When the shooting stopped around Beirut in 1982 the typewriters started clicking. Journalists who had suffered the two-month Israeli siege of the city went into combat to get their book-length versions of the story out first. Perhaps the most enigmatic of the half-dozen or so books which have come out since appeared in London, last year. They are still not available here. Tony Clifton, *Newsweek's* man at the siege, tore up the journalists' rulebook when sitting down to write *God Cried*. His anger at what he saw and suffered during the long summer in the Lebanese capital, his compassion and his disgust with all those who tried to cover up the crimes that were committed there, runs through the 140-page book like a stream of the blazing phosphorus which crippled so many there.

The opening sets the tone. Clifton writes: "Official evil lives in the Middle East, and the ruins of the graves of Beirut testify to its strength. But that evil was not triumphant in Beirut and this story is about the people who beat it back."

Clifton's primary targets are all those Israelis who participated in the shelling, bombings and cut-off of vital food, medical, electricity and water supplies. The weapons in his armoury are various: straight abuse, descriptions of what it was like to be on the receiving end of the horror weapons of the war, satirical musings where he puts himself in the place of the bombers and shellers and attempts to put their actions into a wider context of Zionist designs for the region as a whole. There's no "a small country surrounded by enemies" rhetoric for him.

When not berating the enemy he describes some of his own feelings and actions during the slaughter of that long steel-hot summer — the attempts to make personal sense of what was happening around him; the efforts to convey that to the editors and colleagues on the outside and, through everything, the struggle to keep sane and alive amid insanity and death. He also gives portraits of Beirut's defenders: the civilians and medical personnel as well as the fighters. His admiration for them is also not understated.

He carrics his singular style into the analysis of the reasons for the war. Sensibly ignoring Israel's PR positions before and during the conflict, he explains the assualt on Beirut as an Israeli attempt to divert international attention away from its settlement/annexation policy in the occupied territories and what he saw as growing pressure on Israel for a negotiated solution to the Palestinian question.

This book is a testament. The reader will not find the dates, quotes and details necessary for a scholarly appraisal of the war. But without such an account, the history of that particular episode in the lives of the Palestinians and Israelis would not be complete. Particularly poignant are the passages devoted to the effects and aftermath of the phosphorus, cluster and high-explosive bombs. Clifton does not just describe the horrible sight and sound of the victims but stays around to describe the efforts of the rescue teams to dig out the dead and wounded and the stubborn humanity that kept, for instance, the hospitals functioning even after they themselves became targets for the guns, ships and planes.

Clifton first went to Beirut around the time of the outbreak of the 1975-76 (or ongoing?) civil war. He also brings to this book some of the history of Lebanon — but only where it is immediately relevant to exlaining the siege. This book should be read as a therapy. Some people will be irritated by the personalisation of a conflict and others probably by some of the cynicism — the cross all journalists have to bear, it seems. But if you've had enough of the pussy-footing around by experts who have not the courage to tell the story straight because they have to touch every Israeli-created base to keep their reputations as 'objective' intact, then this is the book for you.

Given the obfuscation of all things to do with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict the text is most memorable and striking. But praise should also be laid at the door of the photographer, Catherine Leroy. The shots included in this volume have been thoughtfully chosen. Some are 'standards' — Beirut ablaze, the triumphant exodus of the PLO fighting forces, the horrors of Sabra and Shatila. Others give new insights, in particular the series of shots of limbless children going about their 'normal lives' after the siege. One in particular of a young boy on crutches and one leg scudding past a fit, strong French multinational forces soldier still clings in my memory.

PALESTINE AND LITERATURE

Raja Shehadeh is better known locally as a lawyer and human rights activist — and founder of Law in the Service of Man — than as a literary figure. He is an accomplished writer in both areas, however, as the following selections from his book *The Third Way: A Journal of Life in the West Bank* (Quartet Books: London, 1982) show. Written originally in English, this essay and excerpt from Shehadeh's journal blend philosophy, literature and his love of the land.

The Green Kafiyya

The Green Kafiyya

Looking at the twinkling lights of the Mediterranean coast on the horizon last night, I remembered how I felt many years ago as I was preparing to go for my day off — away from the land of my *sumud*, into the land of the old-time *samidin*: to il-Lid, Ramleh, Yafa, Haifa and Akka (their very names are music to me).

Whenever there was an electric-power failure in Ramallah, I would look with envy and admiration at the land to the west that my parents had left, the magical dream-world of my childhood. It wasn't the first time that I would be going across, but the defeat was still too close for me to feel its full impact, and I was very excited.

In the morning, I checked the most important item of all, my identity card — without it I could end up in jail — and set off. I remember vividly the joy I felt, doing the prohibited, as I drove deeper and deeper through the hills towards Latrun — the 1948-67 armistice line. It is a beautiful road, meandering through the high hills, passing through Upper Beit-'Ur and then descending to the lower village of the same name. The terraced terrain, covered in olive trees, looks as if it was squeezed by a giant hand and was then left to unfurl at its leisure. The land beyond Lower Beit-'Ur has escaped the scoop of the mighty hand. The fields stretch more gracefully, only slightly curled, covered by a deep green, almost velvety, soft grass, with only a few stones protruding.

I stopped my car near the Latrun Monastery, on the old armistice line, the border that once divided me from the coast. The rocky brown fields of the foetus-shaped West Bank, resting uncomfortably in Israel's belly, lay behind me. A sweet breeze swept my face as I prepared to make the crossing into this other world of blessed, fertile fields.

I remember how, driving along the road to Jaffa, intoxicated by the smell of the orange orchards, my heart suddenly began beating what was by then the familiar tune of life on the West Bank — I saw the checkpoint ahead of me.

'Boker Tov [Good morning],' I said in my best Hebrew.

'Boker Ohr [Good morning],' the guard answered, and looked closely at my face.

'Shalom [Goodbye],' he said, waving me through with his hand.

It is uncomfortable now to remember the gloating feeling of satisfaction I experienced at having slid by, thinking: 'That's good! He must have taken me for a Jew because of my East Jerusalem license plate.' I felt the shame then, only seconds after my little victory, and then the kick of revolt — I can't stand up and assert my Palestinian identity every day — damn pride and politics — I'm doing what none of those who fled to Jordan can do, however much they scorn us and laugh at us. They can't come here as I do and see our parents' land.

For all that bravado, my enchantment must have faded by the time I reached Jaffa. I had intended a grand tour, beginning with my parents' home which they fled in 1948, of the landmarks in my favourite childhood stories. But, directly after parking the car, I ran into a tourist group and heard the guide's explanations. And I saw through his listeners' eyes the 'cute' Israeli 'reconstructions' of Old Jaffa: the site of my romantic longings, plastered over into art galleries, discos, expensive restaurants, fancy shops. No tourist or Israeli my age could ever guess that thirty-five years ago this was the vibrant, flourishing Arab centre of Palestine. No trace of it is left; its people are scattered all over the world.

More than anything, I recall the feeling of deep, very deep humiliation as I quickly got back into the car and drove away. I decided to continue my tour, to Acre, but its colour had changed.

I stopped off in Tel Aviv for lunch — to see the Israelis in their natural habitat. The faces, the walk of the women and the men seemed so confident, loud — the self-contained assuredness of a victorious people. The young state takes good care of its young people, in return for their serving the flag. These healthy, vibrant faces contrasted sharply in my mind with the withdrawn, beaten faces I had left behind me on the West Bank.

As I parked, an old man wrote down my license-plate number. I wondered whether he was off to call the police or was storing the information against the time when a bomb would go off. In the bar, there was an Argentinian woman, and the waiter also seemed to be from Latin America. They were talking animatedly in Spanish, with some Hebrew words interspersed. She spoke with her fingers, like an Arab. They seemed to be discovering that they shared many experiences — after being brought here from thousands of miles away to start a new life. They were talking about washing-machines, I think, tax-free benefits they got as new immigrants.

I left Tel Aviv and travelled through Haifa to Acre, to visit the houses where some relatives of mine had lived. Again I saw a ghost of a dream. An ancient, heroic, now humiliated city. The walls were full of graffiti: *'Allahu — Akbar!* [God is almighty!]' On sale in one of the tourist shops in the old city I saw a green *kafiyya* — the black-and-white symbol of Palestinian resistance dyed a pretty green to sell to tourists.

There were more Arabs here than I had seen in Jaffa or Haifa. But they had nothing to say to me. They turned their backs on me, busy mending their fishing nets. These fishermen had carried on fishing, struggling alone, abandoned by other Arabs, since 1948. I think this was the first time I fully grasped how difficult their life must have been. I knew too that they would find it hard to believe that I understood. We have been as insensitive to them as some of our brothers in Jordan are now towards us.

I passed them silently and stood facing the breakers on the west. The waves were breaking angrily at the foot of the sea wall and the spray reached my face. All my life I had had the dream of living on this coast — the land of my father. Now I was on it, my face was wet with spray and it was more inaccessible than ever.

Ramallah was engulfed in fog when I returned. It was already dark. Everyone was in his house; no one could be seen and no one heard. I felt that I had left another world. Yet this world I returned to buzzed with a familiar sound. Without hearing them speak, I knew what my people wanted to say. Without seeing them act, I knew what they wanted to do. Together we were one in our *sumud*. The life we shared under occupation made us a people that no physical force or clever tactic could destroy.

I drove through the foggy, deserted streets and in the distance I saw a blinking light. I stopped, and an Arab policeman asked me for my identity card. There was no question about my identity... I was back home.

Autumn 1980 Journal

November 16...

When I left court today, I was stopped by a lawyer I know vaguely. He drew me into a corner and said that today was his last free day before he begins serving a six-month prison term. He asked me to help him — he said he had only a few hours left. This was his story:

Several months ago he was engaged to contest the sale of 600 dunums of land in a nearby village to a subsidiary of the Jewish National Fund — for a private Jewish settlement. The fund's representatives had frightened an old woman into signing documents selling the land. In fact, she was not its owner, and the family owning the land was now contesting the legality of the sale. The lawyer told me that a week before the trial was due to begin, he had a telephone call from someone in the military government warning him to keep off the case. He refused, and a day before the trial he was arrested on suspicion of driving without a license. The land trial began without him, and the claimants had to hire another lawyer at the last minute to replace him. He, in the meantime, was tried, convicted and sentenced to six months in prison and a fine of 7500 Israeli pounds — an unheard-of penalty for such an offence — particularly as he was never stopped by a traffic policeman. He told me that he had asked for a week's deferment so that he could settle his cases, tranfer them to other lawyers, etc. Today, in another two hours, he would begin serving his term.

He was unhappy, he said, with the way his replacement was pursuing the land case. He believed that the military authorities had succeeded in intimidating the new lawyer — who was merely going through the motions of presenting his clients' case. He wanted to give me the relevant papers so that I could ask Father if he was willing to take up the case instead of him.

I was shattered by his story. And I was baffled by his attitude. He spoke without expression, matter-of-factly, as if this was all in a day's work. I couldn't understand how he displayed no signs of outrage and how he could face the prospect of six months in prison so coolly.

I went with him to his village to pick up the papers and, as I drove away, I saw a police van drive up to his door. His time was up.

On the way home, I stopped off to discuss the case with some friends. Some nodded their heads wisely — haven't you heard about him? He is a collaborator. The whole trial is a charade. Others were less sure, but thought there was much more to the story than he had told me.

Our talks were, of course, inconclusive. Some believe he is a hero, others say he is a traitor. The network of rumours spread by the authorities, I sometimes think, is their most effective weapon.

But one thing he told me haunts me more than anything else. He said that the Jewish National Fund was also represented by a West Bank lawyer. When he asked their representative why he had not taken an Israeli lawyer, the man had told him that that is part of their policy, to use us Arabs to transfer the land — let us do all the work so that it can never be said that the land was taken against our will.

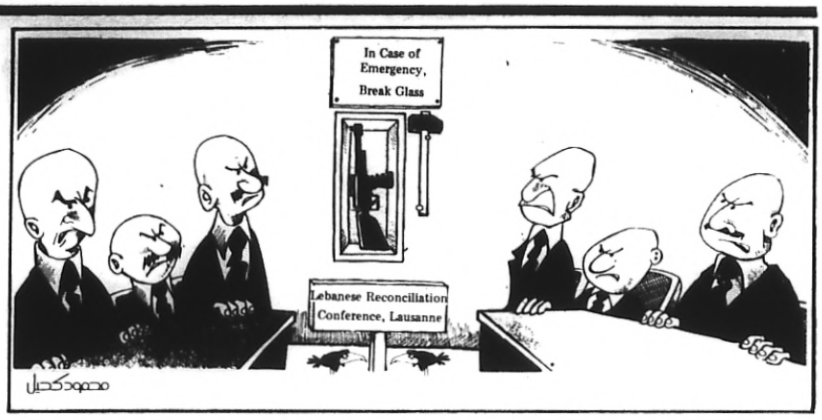
One of our people at my friends' house this afternoon was a member of our gallant band of striking lawyers. They and the judges must hold a world record: a thirteen-and-a-half-year strike. He had the gall to say: 'All of you lawyers who work here are collaborators. Every move you make is used to consolidate the Israeli occupation.'

It is true that this is a nightmare that haunts those of us who didn't go on strike. But if the majority who did hadn't been so busy resting their conscience, keeping it unsullied, letting the takeover happen before their very eyes without moving a muscle — then the burden of our nightmares wouldn't be so heavy. It is their not being around to fight the Israelis that has let the military get away with so much, and our civilian courts fall into the shameful condition they are in — which is exactly how the Israelis want them.

I was too furious to answer him — partly because he hit where it hurts most. I find myself suddenly thinking of us lawyers here on the West Bank as the daylight equivalents of the people dragged out in the middle of the night to whitewash over the slogans painted on the wall. It is as if by our very willingness to function under the distorted rules of 'justice' that they have set up here we are providing the occupation — the theft of our land and liberties — with a clean bill of legalistic health.

Just as the layers of whitewash sometimes crack to reveal the smothered earlier cries of freedom of our people — if I am, unwittingly, a whitewasher — I pray that my whitewash, which I cannot see, will crack.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The failure of the Lausanne Lebanese reconciliation conference, the upcoming talks between PLO leaders in Aden and the Israeli Knesset vote to hold early elections were the main stories of the week.

The failure of leaders of warring Lebanese factions to reach an agreement and the snowballing effect of this failure was given prominent coverage in **Al Quds** and **Al Sha'ab** dailies.

Al Fajr daily gave important coverage all week to the upcoming Palestinian talks in Aden.

Local dailies also gave a lot of space to the Knesset vote for early elections. All three papers, however, showed little enthusiasm for an Israeli government led by present front-runner, the Labour Party.

Jerusalem is not for Sale

Members of the US Congress are signing a petition to be given to the American administration asking that the US move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem as a support to Israel's position that Jerusalem is its eternal capital.

The policy of petitions is an old one. The members of Congress had previously signed petitions asking for more aid to Israel and another barring PLO members from visiting the US. Others were made to win Jewish support or collect money from the Jewish community.

This begging approach touched Democratic candidates for the next presidential elections which led them to include promises to move the US Embassy to Jerusalem.

One would wonder about this US attitude, particularly from leaders who are supposed to show more concern for US interests than their own.

While we do not want to give more attention to these petitions than they deserve, we, out of concern over Jerusalem, want to draw Arab and Muslim attention to these measures, to stop them before they grow.

America should understand in advance that Jerusalem is not a commodity to be sold or bargained over. Its case is much more serious than to be played with like this.

AL QUDS
March 20

The Aden Meeting

Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), member of Fatah Central Council and Deputy-Commander of the Palestinian forces, expressed concern for the coming Palestinian meeting in Aden, wishing it success. Many hopes are built on this meeting, counting on it to reach a new working relationship among the different Palestinian parties to reorganise the Palestinian house in the aftermath of Beirut and Tripoli.

We believe there is a good chance this meeting will succeed, due to the interest of the independent Palestinian groups in unity among them under the PLO.

The success of the Aden meeting will open doors wide for a successful session of the Palestine National Council. This will bolster national unity among the parties which rejected the split and the use of weapons to solve their conflicts.

The present situation demands that the Aden meeting succeed.

AL SHA'AB
March 20

How Long Must Palestinians Suffer in Jordanian Prison?

Evidence indicates that there are 78 Palestinian detainees in al-Muhattah prison in Jordan. The prisoners have been on hunger strike for 12 consecutive days in protest against their bad conditions and the fact that they have not been tried after a long detention.

In spite of the improvement in Palestinian-Jordanian relationships over the past several years, bolstered by the Palestinian-Jordanian dialogue, we still have to wonder why these detainees haven't been tried and have been left suffering in that prison, not knowing what is happening to them.

The most basic international laws and norms say that a detainee should not be jailed without trial. The Jordanian authorities have to either free these prisoners or put them on trial.

We are pointing to the difficulty of the situation some of our Palestinian brothers are going through at al-Muhattah prison because of our concern for the future and livelihood of every Palestinian, anywhere in the world.

AL FAJR
March 21

The Failure at Lausanne

An urgent problem behind the Lausanne conference in Switzerland, which is about to conclude its meeting, delayed several times because no unanimous agreement could be reached, is the ceasefire in Lebanon. But even this problem is not solved. It is true they made a decision to cease all military activities but rarely a day passed when the conference was in session without military operations. So how would other important issues be treated that have to do with Lebanon's identity, its future relations with Israel, political sectarianism, secularisation, US forces, national unity government and relations with the Palestinian revolution?

The most important problem is the issue of south Lebanon and Israel's threats to keep it as its new northern border.

It is clear then that the Lausanne conference has failed to overcome even the simplest problems on its agenda.

The best description of the conference and its initial results is that given by Lebanese leader Walid Jumblatt that staying in that hotel was a waste of time. This is true because the fascist mentality that developed in Lebanon and led to its isolation is still ruling today and is the one negotiating on behalf of the people thus making it difficult for the nationalist forces to get the fascists to agree to their demands.

But it seems the fascist parties forget that the Lebanese of today are not those of yesterday. Yet the nationalists did not forget that the things they cannot get in Lausanne they can get in Lebanon, where they forced the multinational forces out and liberated a large area from the control of the Phalangist regime, forcing it to cancel the May 17 agreement.

AL MITHAQ
March 21

Those Who Surrendered are Losing their Last Card

In a clear statement, US Secretary of State Shultz said his government will not pressure Israel. He was responding to statements by King Hussein. He advised all those waiting for this pressure, "It is necessary that they leave aside the thought that the US will pressure Israel to concede".

This does away with the argument of some who tried to convince the Arab people that the US would pressure Israel and that if they were nice to the US and gave it bases, Washington would be convinced that they ought to pressure Israel.

In the past when the Arab nationalists used to talk about the similarity between Israeli and American policies, rejecting the notion that the US would pressure Israel, those who relied on the American solution called them rejectionists, radicals and idealistic.

But what can they say now to Shultz? Is he a rejectionist and radical also? What are they going to tell the Arab people this time to justify their relationship with the US? Nothing.

Washington will offer them nothing more than demands for more concessions and arms, on condition that they use them against their own people and to protect their regimes.

Gemayel has realised, even if it is too late, that Washington will not save him. So he went to Damascus. Mubarak and Numeiri are still running behind the US, following the policy that failed in Lebanon, which calls for using arms against their people.

As this approach failed, also the pretext that by winning Mubarak back to the Arab ranks he will be able to pressure the US to pressure Israel has also lost ground. The evidence for this is clear as he plays his role in antagonising Libya and acts as the policeman against the Sudanese people.

AL TALIA
March 22

Towards Critical Days

Anyone listening to the Knesset session yesterday would realise what kind of elections the Likud wants. It was clear it will stoop as low as possible to keep its seats. Its attempt to call for a secret ballot indicated its fascist structure.

It is expected that the Likud will try to delay the election date as much as possible so that it will have enough time to lead a hysterical campaign, as it did in past elections.

We, in light of these dangers, have to learn from past experiences. We should be alert as we keep our unity. We established the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality mainly for these crucial days.

Let us remember that the (Labour) Alignment failed to prevent the Likud from rising to power or bring it down. So did all the anti-Communist parties when they failed to bring any changes in the politics of this country.

The DFPE bloc could have come in third place in the (last) Knesset (elections) (after the Alignment and Likud) if it were not for Alignment blackmail and disruptions by Sheli and others.

We have to remember that any positive change in Israel will lead us to the next crucial period, along with the blows inflicted on the Israeli-American aggression in the region.

AL ITTIHAD
March 23

Teams Boycott Political Football Final

The semi-final and final of the annual West Bank winter soccer championship was called off March 16 after three major teams objected to continuing in the championship on political grounds.

A statement issued March 26 by the O'd Athletic Union, Silwan Athletic Club and al-Hilal al-Maqdisi Club said they boycotted the games because they were to be held under the patronage of the Israeli-appointed mayor of Jericho, Jamil Sabri Khalaf. Beit Safafa, the fourth club in the finals, did not sign the statement. The three teams suggested that the competition be completed on the YMCA grounds in Jerusalem and that the Jericho Hilal club present the trophy.

The three clubs also criticised the Athletic Clubs Union, which supervises the winter games, for organising the games under the patronage of a "mayor who has regular contacts with the Israeli 'civil administration'."

The winter soccer championship is considered the top competition for top-flight West Bank teams. The games were initiated in 1977 by the Jericho Hilal club. Twenty teams have already taken part in this year's competition.

The O'd Athletic Union is a combined club from Aida and Dheisheh refugee camps and al-Hilal al-Maqdisi is Jerusalem-based.

HIRSCH ON CABLE TV

PLO is Chosen Leader

An Orthodox Jewish rabbi told an American TV audience March 25 that the PLO is the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

Rabbi Moshe Hirsch, the spokesperson of the anti-Zionist Neturei Karta movement, was answering questions in Jerusalem on a US cable TV programme entitled *Viewpoint*.

Replying to a question by the programme interviewer as to why Neturei Karta supports Arafat, "who wants to destroy the Jewish people and not only Israel," Hirsch said: "Your assumptions are not necessarily facts... In Palestine, the Palestinian people can decide their fate — they have the right to chose their leaders and representatives." Hirsch also said that (PLO Chairperson Yasir) Arafat was chosen by the Palestinian people in democratically held elections.

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SYRIA REVISES LEBANON POLICIES

But the hastily assembled Murabitoun not only were not up to the task of assuring the security situation they also indulged in the abovementioned provocations. The mass-supported major opposition forces judged these to be in contrast with their interests, especially since the Syrian (and hence Libyan) turn-around in favour of the resuscitated Gemayel regime. Such suspicions could not but be justified in light of the events at the Lausanne conference which underscored and highlighted the existence of two irreconcilable conceptions of tomorrow's Lebanon.

After nine days of haggling in the sumptuous Beaurivage Palace Hotel where, with the exception of the opposition leaders Nabih Berri and Walid Jumblatt, the other Lebanese, Syrian and Saudi participants, accompanied by their entire courts, exhibited themselves in huge parties which revolted Lebanese public opinion as well as present observers, the Lausanne conference ended on Tuesday night with an open admission of failure by all its participants. There was a last-minute attempt to conclude the talks with the endorsement of a compromise document applauding the resistance to the Israeli occupation in south Lebanon and at least mentioning, in principle, the need for a political deconfessionalisation of Lebanese state structures, although in terms far behind those demanded by the major opposition forces. But the attempt was sabotaged by Suleiman Franjieh, the Maronite oligarch, who until some weeks ago was allied with the opposition forces against the Gemayel regime, and who suddenly rediscovered his "Maronite solidarity."

Franjieh's turn-around is attributed, basically, to two major factors: to his wish to rally around himself a large concensus of the Maronite community after the split due to the Phalangist massacre of his family and followers in Zgharta in 1979, with a view to returning to the presidency; and to Franjieh's long-time covert alliance with Rifa'at Assad, the Syrian president's brother, notoriously linked, also through common economic interests, with the Maronite ultra-rightist camp in Lebanon.

But the Maronite shifts and exclusivisms were not the only factor which weighed in the conference against the demands of the majority and mass-supported opposition forces, represented in Lausanne in a disproportion reflecting the balance of forces exactly opposite to that existing on the ground. In fact, crucial to the effect of the negotiations was the Syrian- and Saudi-supported positions of the Sunni Moslem bourgeoisie represented at the Beaurivage by Saeb Salam and Rashid Karameh (and flanked by the politically insignificant Shi'ite feudal lord Adel Osseiran). Traditionally the junior ally, but also the rival, of the Maronite oligarchy, economically and politically dependent on support from the Arab regimes, this group of dignitaries historically charged by French colonialism with the representation of Lebanon's Moslem population, necessarily sustained the popular opposition's demand for a united Arab Lebanon.

Class Insticts

Despite the ostentation of this "position of principle", however, its leaders are as strongly opposed as the Maronite oligarchy to a secular democratisation of Lebanese society which would deprive them of their power based on patronage inside their confessional community. On this crucial level, the "class instinct" of this grouping by far overrides any other consideration and objectively privileges an alliance with any factor, including the Phalangist enemy, capable of "saving them" from solidarity with the proletarian masses who profess themselves Moslem, or simply Arab nationalists, but who claim with equal vigour their right to equality as citizens. The nature of Lebanon's political confessionalism as an emotionally-exploited camouflage superimposed on the class-struggle dynamics of the Lebanese conflict, reveals itself here, in the attitude of the Sunni bourgeoisie, including its readiness to assume a role of mediation leading to vague and superficial changes intended to bar the way to authentic in-depth reforms, with rare clarity.

It remains to be seen, however, how, in the new realities created on the ground by events this week, this community as well as the other forces present, intend to play their cards, in the context of the decisions, for the moment not altogether predictable, examined in these days in Damascus.

March 28

JERUSALEM — Last day of the Palestinian Folklore exhibit at Ibrahimiya college, Mount of Olives.

JERUSALEM — Forum on Land Day sponsored by Palestinian Women's Committee at the Employees' Club, 3:00 pm. (Arabic)

March 29

JERUSALEM — Conclusion of Bible Month events with prizes and lecture on 'Actualisation of the Bible' at the YMCA, 4:00 pm. (Arabic).

March 30

TAIBEH, TRIANGLE — Land Day events, 1:00 pm.
ARRABEH, GALILEE — Land Day events, 3:00 pm.
RAHAT, NAQAB — Land Day events. Bus leaves Jerusalem from Hebrew University, Mount Scopus campus at 1:00 pm; from Binyanei Ha'uma at 1:30 pm.

March 31

UM AL-FAHM, TRIANGLE — Voluntary work day. For information call 063-51948.

April 1

TEL AVIV — Party organised by Democratic Women's Movement at 70 Ahad Ha'Am Street, 7:00 pm.

April 4.

TEL AVIV — 'Is a *Coup d'etat* Possible in Israel?' symposium about Amos Kanan's latest book at Bnei Brith House.

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FARA'A JAIL

said that there "is no deep, honest and courageous international reporting about violations of human rights in Israeli prisons. There is a greater level of honesty in Israeli newspapers, excluding *The Jerusalem Post*, Shahak said.

"If Israeli newspapers report evidence of the violation of human rights and maltreatment of Jews, can we suppose that Arab prisoners get better treatment?" Shahak asked, adding, "that all concerned should fight against torture."

Former Israeli Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan opened Fara'a as a punitive detention centre in May 1982 and put it under army supervision.

The League said Fara'a has two sections: one run by the military police and a second closed section run by the Shin Bet. It is in the latter that torture takes place, they reported.

Israeli military sources denied all the League's charges. The trial of a Fara'a guard charged with torturing prisoners was recently postponed, due to his ill health.

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Al Ard

Other articles called for equal rights for Palestinians in Israel.

Among the activities which were organised by *al-Ard* in cooperation with Israeli groups was a demonstration in February 1963 in Jerusalem calling for an end to the military government. *Al-Ard*'s leadership participated in two large conferences which were held for Jewish and Arab authors in Acre and Tel Aviv.

Al Ard Banned

In an attempt to stop the increasing activities of *al-Ard* and the growing support for it, the Israeli authorities banned the newspaper and organisation in 1964. But the members of the *al-Ard* movement did not give up. They tried to set up an election list and take part in the 1964 Knesset elections. "We," said Mansour Kardosh, "wanted to enter through the window after they kicked us out of the door."

They protested its banning to the United Nations. The letter they sent was read at the General Assembly and all the world learnt about "the oppressive policy of the Israelis," said Kardosh, noting that this added to the anger of the Israeli authorities at the leading members of the movement. A clamp-down began against the leadership. Some were restricted to their residences, others were imprisoned under administrative detention orders and others were exiled and scattered.

Mansour Kardosh was exiled from Nazareth to Arad (a Jewish township in the Naqab), Sabri Jiryis was exiled from Haifa to Safad, Saleh Baransi from Taibeh to Bisan and Habib Qahwaji from Haifa to Tiberias. The period of exile ranged from three to 12 months and after it expired the men were restricted to their towns and villages until 1967. All of the former activists are still banned from entering the Gaza Strip and West Bank, twenty years later.

The suppression of the *al-Ard* movement was carried out despite statements made in some Israeli newspapers which dismissed accusations by the Israeli authorities that the movement supports the elimination of the state of Israel. In an answer to the question asked by *HaOlam HaZe* in August 1964 whether he advocated the elimination of the state of Israel, Kardosh said: "Certainly not. We remain true to the right of the Jewish people to live here but not at the expense of the Palestinian people."

Al-Ard viewed the solution to the Palestinian problem in a way which "will not be contradictory to the progressive liberation movement in the Arab world. After that we can approach a solution and the solution is a federation with the Arab countries with self-determination and some independence for the Jews in the federal colony."

Today some former members of the *al-Ard* movement have changed their perspective about how the Palestinian problem should be solved. Some no longer hold that the Palestinian problem can be solved through Arab nationalism. "Our former political perspective," said Kardosh, "was based only on emotions" which were in effect killed by the defeat in 1967. "The only way to achieve the national aspirations of the Palestinians is through the Palestinians themselves," Kardosh says now. However they still hold the same stand on a solution — a democratic state which, according to them, must be achieved through stages and mutual understanding between Israelis and Palestinians.

In an answer to a question why the Israeli authorities banned *al-Ard*, Kardosh said the Israelis could not allow the growth of Palestinian nationalism inside the 1948 borders of Israel. "The Israelis are hostile to the Palestinian national identity and consequently to any practical expression of this identity," he remarked.

He believes that *al-Ard*'s national ideas have not died out: "They have been expressing themselves in other forms." Kardosh sees the progressive movement, *Abna' al-Balad* and *al-Nahda*, all of which define themselves as Palestinian national movements, as the successors of *al-Ard*.

WEEKLY REVIEW

March 19, 1984

GAZA APPEALS FOR SHAHIN

GAZA — National institutions in Gaza presented a petition to Israel's defence minister, the military co-ordinator for the occupied territories and Gaza's military governor, asking that former political prisoner Abu Ali Shahin be allowed home from his exile in Dahniya. Shahin spent 15 years in jail and was later placed in internal exile on the Egyptian-Gaza border. The military government is planning to deport him.

RAMALLAH STUDENTS CONTINUE PROTEST

Ramallah students continued their protest against the results of the *tawjihi* exams by stoning the city's education offices. An Israeli force was called by the head of the education department in Ramallah and 20 students were arrested.

JOURNALIST RESTRICTED

JERUSALEM — The Israeli government barred Palestinian journalist Raymonda Tawil from travelling to Vienna, via Amman. Tawil, however, was permitted to travel via Lydda airport on condition that she does not contact PLO members.

Tawil is travelling to Vienna at the invitation of former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. She said the authorities are willing to permit her to travel via Lydda because they know Jordan bans Palestinians from using the Israeli airport.

THE PLO WARNS OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

WEST GERMANY — The PLO warned the International Olympic Committee that nations friendly to it will boycott the games if the PLO is not allowed to participate. Speaking to a West German newspaper, the PLO representative to Bonn said several friendly nations will not take part in the next summer Olympics in Los Angeles if the PLO is not given a chance to take part.

HIGH COURT DELIBERATES PRIEST'S CASE

JERUSALEM — The Israeli High Court deliberated the appeal by Greek Orthodox priest Fawzi Khoury against an order banning him from travelling abroad. The court ordered the prosecutor to present the list of accusations against Khoury by April 2, or the case will be dismissed.

RESIDENTS ORDERED TO DEMOLISH HOMES

JENIN — Thirty homeowners in the Iz al-Din valley, near Jenin, were ordered by the military government to demolish their homes within 15 days on the pretext they do not have a building permit. The order was effective March 18.

PHALANGISTS IN JERUSALEM

JERUSALEM - Lebanon's Christian militias, backed by Israel, plan to establish a permanent office in Jerusalem, *Davar* said. It added that the Lebanese militias want representative status similiar to that granted to the PLO in several countries.

JERUSALEM RESIDENTS SENTENCED

TEL AVIV — Nine residents of Jerusalem were given three- to five-year prison terms by a Lydda military court after they were convicted of throwing firebombs at an Israeli military vehicle last October, attacking a soldier in an attempt to take his gun and stone-throwing.

TOWN ARREST RENEWED

KUFR KANNA — A town arrest order on a Kufr Kanna resident, Jamil Assad, was renewed for six more months. Assad, an artist, is banned from leaving his home at night and his village during the day.

ASHDOD BUS SUSPECTS RELEASED

The last of 165 Arabs, nine residents of Gaza, arrested following the explosion on an Ashdod city bus more than two weeks ago, were released.

March 20, 1984

JORDAN PRISON STRIKE CONTINUES

WEST BANK — Reports from Jordan say that 78 Palestinian political prisoners at Mahattah prison in Jordan have entered their 12th day of a hunger strike. The strike was called to protest the bad prison conditions and detention without trial.

Families of the detainees held a sit-in protest at the Jerusalem office of the International Committee of the Red Cross and presented a protest message against the bad treatment of the prisoners in Jordan.

REJAILED ON SAME CHARGE

DHEISHEH — Dheisheh resident Nasser Hassan Azza was released from jail after serving a 60-day sentence for not paying a IS40,000 fine for security charges. Azza was arrested last year and sentenced to a three-month term and a fine of IS40,000. He served his term but refused to pay the fine.

WRITER QUESTIONED

NAZARETH — Writer Afif Salem, editor of *Al Adab* magazine, was summoned by the police and questioned on activities to commemorate Land Day, March 30.

TRIAL POSTPONED

TEL AVIV — The trial of an Israeli police officer charged with torturing a Palestinian resident at Fara'a prison was postponed until March 29. The policeman was sick.

The family of Mahmoud Suleiman Abu Haniye stand before their house, outside Beit Sahour, which Israeli military forces blew up March 20. The military said the owner had no license to build./AO photo

SHAHIN'S FATE UNDECIDED

TEL AVIV - The fate of Palestinian leader Abu Ali Shahin will be decided by Israel's Defence Minister, Moshe Arens, *Al Hamishmar* reported. It said Israeli security forces oppose Shahin's deportation fearing that he may join the PLO office in Amman and cause more damage to Israel. It added that Shahin played a major role in the PLO-Israel prisoner exchange last November and that he was the one who decided the list of Palestinian prisoners to be released.

NO ELECTIONS

KHADR — The Israeli military ordered the Khadr Club not to hold its biannual elections and postpone them indefinitely. The elections were supposed to be held March 17. This is the first time the military has interfered in the elections of this institution.

March 21, 1984

CARS STONED

Israel Radio said Israeli vehicles were stoned near Am'ari refugee camp, near Ramallah, and Arroub camp, near Hebron. No damage was caused to the vehicles, the radio claimed.

KARAMEH BATTLE CELEBRATED

WEST BANK — Palestinians in the West Bank celebrated the 16th anniversary of the Palestinian-Israeli battle at Karameh, Jordan.

Celebrations were held at Bir Zeit and Najah Universities and Kalandia training centre. Students spoke at the rallies about the accomplishment of the PLO forces when they repelled a massive Israeli invasion of Jordan.

TA'MARI SPEAKS ON ANSAR

AMMAN - Palestinian leader Salah Ta'mari, head of the Committee to Defend Ansar Prisoners in south Lebanon, said 45 prisoners died at the camp with the full knowledge of the Red Cross. He said the prisoners sacrificed a great deal while in capitivity.

RAWDA STUDENTS STILL HARASSED

NABLUS - Students at Rawda College in Nablus are still being summoned by the military and questioned on the activities on campus last January 8 when soldiers raided it and confiscated an exhibition.

DECISION TO DEMOLISH 30 HOUSES RESCINDED

BEIT JALA — Farah A'araj, mayor of Beit Jala, was informed by visiting employees of the Jerusalem municipality that the latter has rescinded a decision to demolish 30 houses in Ras Aqabah, near Beit Jala. The area was recently included in the Jerusalem city limits.

The city employees asked A'araj to inform the owners of the houses that they have to obtain licenses from the municipality. A'araj has previously asked Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek not to demolish houses and to grant their owners licenses.

March 22, 1984

WEST BANK EMPLOYEES TO RECEIVE RAISE

TULKARM — West Bank employees of the military education department are expected to receive a 42 percent salary increase in light of the deteriorating value of the shekel and the increases in food prices, it was learned from a source in the department. The increase will be effective April 1.

MILITARY HARASS DHEISHEH REFUGEES

JERUSALEM — Israeli military harassment of the Dheisheh camp refugees increased recently as more than 23 people, ranging between 12 and 23 years of age, were arrested and placed in Fara'a prison on political charges.

Two students, Khalil Ghanem and Nidal Na'im, were sentenced to two months in jail. A third student, Adnan Muheisen, was fined IS7000.

Prisoners who were released recently from Fara'a said they have been tortured in jail and beaten up all over their bodies. They said they were forced to sleep on wet floors.

Some said the torture was intended to force them to sign confession papers.

Residents of the camp said there have been continuous attempts since 1967 to intimidate them to leave the camp. They said they are determined to stay there. The refugees said settlers occasionally stone the camp at night or stone cars parked on the camp streets as part of their daily harassment. This is in addition to the regular army raids and arbitrary rounding up of youths.

DARWISH BETTER

JERUSALEM — Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish, who suffered three heart attacks earlier this month, said he has passed the critical stage and that he is gradually improving. Darwish told *Al Fajr*, which called him at his hospital in Vienna, that he will stay in the hospital for two more weeks and will not be allowed to travel for another month. He said that he was advised not to resume his daily routine for three months.

OLIVE TREE SEEDLINGS UPROOTED

TAMRAH — A resident of Tamrah complained to the police that unidentified individuals uprooted 150 olive tree seedlings he recently planted on his land. Eyewitnesses at the scene said two green jeeps were seen near the land on the day the trees were uprooted. It is believed the jeeps belong to the Israeli paramilitary nature conservation agency, the Green Patrol.

27 CARS DAMAGED

Ma'ariv said 27 cars were damaged recently in north Jerusalem. It said Palestinian nationalist elements hit the cars in protest against Israeli occupation.

March 23, 1984

BETHLEHEM STUDENTS HOLD CELEBRATION

BETHLEHEM—Students at Bethlehem University held a celebration yesterday to commemorate Mother's Day and the 1968 Karameh battle. Artistic performances were presented by several local groups.

TOWN ARREST EASED

GAZA — The Gaza military governor agreed to a recommendation by a military appellate committee allowing deputy director of the Lawyers Union, Khaled Qidra, to resume work in Gaza two days a week.

The permit allows Qidra to work at his office only. It does not cancel his town arrest order in Khan Yunis.

VOLUNTEER DAY CELEBRATED

BIR ZEIT — Several volunteer committees in the West Bank and Gaza attended a celebration at Bir Zeit University commemorating Palestinian Volunteer Day. The celebration included work on the new campus and cleaning. A rally was also held on campus during which the participants expressed support for the PLO.

WORKING LAWYERS ELECT NEW COMMITTEE

JERUSALEM — The General Assembly of the Arab Lawyers Association elected a new administrative committee: Bahij Tamimi, Ali Ghuzlan, Shukri Nashashibi, Mary Rock, Adnan Sheibi, Usamah Odeh and Obadeh Maswadi.

Students hold a rally to celebrate Palestinian Voluntary Work Day March 23 at Bir Zeit University's new campus./AO photo

March 24, 1984

LAWYERS PROTEST ISRAELI ORDERS

JERUSALEM — Palestinian lawyers denounced Israeli interference in the laws of the occupied territories through issuing military orders. In a meeting of the general assembly of the Arab Lawyers Association in Jerusalem, the lawyers said the military orders changed some of the laws existing prior to the occupation.

A statement issued following the meeting said changing the laws in the occupied lands and not responding to demands by the Arab lawyers led to a serious deterioration in the legal, administrative and cultural systems in the society.

EXPLOSION IN AMMAN

AMMAN — An explosive device went off near the Intercontinental Hotel in Amman, slightly injuring two passers-by. Another more powerful device was discovered near a night club belonging to the same hotel but was safely defused. The hotel is located opposite the US Embassy.

March 25, 1984

ISRAELIS STONED IN NABLUS

Israel Radio said an Israeli truck driver was injured when his truck was stoned near Askar refugee camp, near Nablus.

In another incident, several Nablus youths stoned the new Israeli settlement at Joseph's Tomb. Tear gas was used to disperse the stone-throwers.

UNRWA STOPS ISSUING ID CARDS

AMMAN — A Jordanian source said UNRWA heeded a Jordanian request asking it to stop issuing personal registration cards for West Bank refugees.

The Jordanian government rejected these cards from the beginning because, according to the source, they aim at changing the refugee status of the Palestinians as part of a plan to end the refugee issue.

SENTENCED

RAMALLAH — Ramallah military court sentenced Nathim Awad Ihmeid to an 18-month prison term and three years suspended sentence on charges of resisting the occupation.

ARAB STUDENTS HARASSED

Four Arab students at Ben Gurion University in Beer Sheba were arrested on charges of supporting a banned political organisation. The police used publications they claimed were confiscated from the rooms of the four students as evidence of the charge, *Hadashot* said.

The paper said the new arrests caused wide protest on campus, particularly since 30 lecturers at the university sent a protest letter to the interior minister a month ago against similar measures against Arab students at Ben Gurion.

Bomb Defused at CDF Gaza Office

A homemade bomb was planted in the Gaza offices of the American private voluntary organisation Community Development Foundation March 18. It was defused before it exploded.

Gaza sources said the bomb was discovered when office staff showed up for work in the morning. It consisted of two timing devices attached to detonators, a butane gas cylinder and other flammable material. One of the devices was ticking when staff found it.

Staff called the police who defused the bomb. The bombers broke into the CDF's third-floor offices, covered all files with kerosene and sprayed the slogan 'CDF=CIA' on the wall, the sources said.

CDF sources opined that they were a target because they are the only American office in the Gaza Strip. Police say there have been a series of similar attacks in the past few weeks in Gaza.

No Bible-Israel Connection, Says Priest

An Arab clergyman told a Jerusalem audience March 15 that there is no connection between the Israel of the Bible and the present political entity.

Alex Awad, Dean of the Bethlehem Bible College, was answering a question on the removal of the word Israel from local church hymnals. The question was asked after Awad gave a lecture in the Jerusalem YMCA entitled 'How to Understand the Old Testament.' The lecture is part of a series of lectures sponsored by representatives of local churches.

In answering a question for *Al Fajr*, Awad said that there is no Biblical basis to the interpretations of Christian fundamentalists who say that the existence of the state of Israel is a fulfillment of a heavenly promise. "Theologically speaking, God's promises to Abraham ended with the birth of Jesus," Awad said.

An 11-member advisory council of the Bible Society in the West Bank, consisting of representatives of major Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant churches, have sponsored a series of events for the month of March.

BZU Plans International Arts Festival

Bir Zeit University is planning to host a month-long international art festival in August. The festival will include an international poster contest, presentations by foreign folkloric troups, a model of a Palestinian village, exhibits for local artists, a local theatre, music and folkloric competition.

A committee which includes Bir Zeit's administration, students affairs office and the student union has been formed to organise the festival.

Taysir Masriyeh, festival director, says that present plans call for at least 34 performances during the month, attracting 2000 spectators per show.

BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY

Bir Zeit University Summer Courses 1984:

1. *Arabic for non-natives* A. (Beginners)
2. *Arabic for non-natives* B. (1 smstr. Arabic)
3. *Colloquial Arabic.* (Beginners)
4. *Archaeology of Palestine.* (Introduction)
5. *Problems of Development under Occupation.*

(Social Science-based course.)

The courses are six weeks long: July 1—August 31. Tuition: $100 per course, payable on registration ($20 deposit required with application). Accomodation available at $115 for 6 weeks. Contact, by April 30: Summer Programme, Office of the Registrar, Bir Zeit University, PO Box 14, Bir Zeit, West Bank, via Israel.

"This Land is My Land and My Father's Land and My Grandfather's"

The following affidavit was given to West Bank human rights organisation Law in the Service of Man by Sabri Gharib, a farmer from Beit Ijza village in the district of Ramallah whose land adjoins an Israeli settlement. He describes the attempts made by the settlers to expand the settlement at the expense of his land, and the legal processes he initiated to retain his land. The harassment that followed his defiance, from both the settlers and military authorities, — Sabri was arrested five times, shot at and beaten — is recounted. The affidavit covers the period from 1979 to January 1982; legal proceedings have continued to date. This affidavit was published as part of a 1983 collection under the title In Their Own Words.

On April 8, 1984, the Objections Committee will give its recommendation as to whether or not Sabri's land is to be declared state property. The Objections Commitee is composed of reserve army officers and appointed by the military government's area commander.

"My land, which is situated on the eastern side of Beit Ijza, and on the western side of the Israeli Hadasha settlement, is my basic source of livelihood. My family (my wife, our 10 children, my sister and myself) depend on this land (which is 112 dunums in area) for our existence. This source of livelihood is now being threatened by the Hadasha settlement (which was established at the end of 1979). Its inhabitants think they can expand their settlement on my family's account. Expansion has two effects on us. Firstly, in the case of expropriation by the military authorities, it keeps us from our land; secondly, it prevents me from working normally on my land. This is because I am harassed by all the summonses I get to the military headquarters in Ramallah, and I am harassed by the soldiers and settlers who are trying to prevent me from working on my land.

"After the establishment of the settlement at the end of 1979, on land belonging to our village and to the village of Biddu, the settlers put up a fence separating their settlement from our village. As my land lies right next to the settlement on the western side, I was the victim of the settlers plans for the expansion of their settlement. At the beginning of 1980, I noticed that the fence was two dunums inside my land, so I went to the military governor in Ramallah to protest. I met the military governor at that time, 'Shmoleck,' and got a written order from him allowing me to work on my land next to the settlement (I still have this written order).

"I went ahead and worked on my land, but I was surprised one day when my wife, my son Mahmoud and I were working on our land. Thirteen settlers came towards us and ordered us off our land. When I refused one of them (called Boz) threatened me with his gun. I still didn't give way and told him that this was my land. Finally the head of the settlement, a woman called Raheel, told them to leave us which they did. This incident alarmed me, so I went to see two Israeli lawyers, Itmer Cohen and Yosef Arnon, to consult them about what had happened. The latter took up my case and advised me to initiate an action against the settlers.

"Several days later, I received a letter from the military governor of Ramallah, in which he asked to buy four dunums of my land which lay next to the settlement and which he informed me was to be used for building a reservoir for the settlement. I took the letter and went to see my lawyer, Yosef Arnon, who obtained an order from the High Court delaying the confiscation of my land until the military governor could prove that the land is needed for public benefit.

"A few days later, a group of land surveyors came and surveyed the land, and the day after they brought bulldozers and proceeded to start building a road, part of which went through my land. Again I went to my lawyer, who advised me to present a formal protest to the Objections Committee. The military government was alleging that a group of Jewish settlers had bought land in our area in 1921. The map of the area, dating from the days of the Turkish rule, showed that the limits of my land were two dunums behind the fence put up by the settlers. The argument of the military government now changed. They alleged that the land they were trying to expropriate (25 dunums of my land) had not been used or planted, so that it was therefore government property. There were several further sessions of the Objections Committee regarding this matter.

"At the end of 1980, my lawyer, a legal advisor, and two other lawyers came to see me and told me that it had been decided that the piece of land in question (25 dunums of my land) was not to be used either by me or by the settlers, while the case was still under the scrutiny of the Objections Committee and until it was resolved. I accepted this and abided by the decision and went on working on the rest of my land, which I planted with barley.

"Things were quiet until June 1981, when I brought a bulldozer to do some work on my land. A group of border police arrived and ordered me to stop work with the bulldozer. They took me to the military governor in Ramallah, where I was questioned about working on my land. I was kept at the military governor's headquarters overnight and until my lawyer, whom my wife had contacted, arrived and obtained my release at noon the following day. Immediately afterwards I continued working on my land, this time with my wife helping me. Again the border police came and took me to the military governor in Ramallah. I was left outside in the cold until 11:00 pm. I asked them to take me inside, as it was very cold that night, but instead they ordered me to go back to my village, and confiscated my identity card. They told me to report to them again the next day.

"On the following day, I reported to the military governor. I was surprised when I was asked to bring a permit from the Building and Organisation Committee allowing me to work on my land. I did not do as they asked because one gets a permit from the Building and Organisation Committee to build and not for working on one's land. The next day I went on working on my land with the bulldozer. The border police came and arrested me for the third time. This time I was kept in prison for 24 hours until my lawyer came, after my wife had contacted him and told him what had happened. Again I was released and advised by my lawyer not to listen to the border police unless the military governor or a person called Eli was with them. The lawyer also told me that he had taken a temporary order on my behalf stating that I was not to be harassed or arrested without formal charges. I continued working until the Israeli called Eli came and asked me why I was working on my land. I replied that I was not working on the 25 dunums, which was still the subject of a court case, but on the rest of my land. He then asked me and my son Mohammed, who was helping me, to accompany him to the military headquarters in Ramallah. At this point I asked my son to take the tools we had been using back to the house (which was 150 metres away). As he did so, Eli started shooting at him with his pistol. My son promptly came back and Eli took us to the military headquarters until 4:30 pm when I was imprisoned, and my son was taken halfway home and left to walk the rest. After being interrogated by the police, I was told that I was going to be kept in prison for 28 days. My wife once more got in touch with my lawyer who tried to obtain my immediate release, but was unsuccessful. He asked for bail, and nine days later I was released. Eli had filed a case against me saying that I did not obey his orders.

"A few days later I got an order from Eli telling me that I had no right to be living in my house (which I had built four years previously) as the land on on which it stands is Jewish property. I ignored the order as the land on which my house was built is clearly mine.

"But Eli kept coming daily for about 10 days harassing me and threatening to demolish my house. Finally he brought me a written warning of the demolition of my house. I immediately informed my lawyer, who obtained an order preventing demolition. The lawyer then discovered that my house did not entirely comply with the building license, so he put in a request to have the original building licence amended. The request is still pending.

"Later on some soldiers came with the director of absentee property, who told me verbally that 45 dunums of my land, next to the 25 dunums in question, had not been tilled or used since 1967 and was therefore government property. I was appalled at this, since I had been tilling and planting this piece of land every year. Eli then came and chased me off my land. I went to my lawyer and told him what had happened, and that the 45 dunums had been surveyed by these people and an aerial picture of it had been taken. The lawyer advised me not to accept the picture of my land or sign it and when Eli and some soldiers came to me for that reason, I took the picture but refused to sign it. I gave the picture to the lawyer and he then put in a request to the High Court to allow me to work on my land, excluding the 25 dunums. The court gave me permission. Eli came to me with a legal advisor and told me that I could work on the 45 pending the final verdict of the High Court. This was on Septmeber 27, 1981.

"I started to plant my land with grape vines, but was surprised when three soldiers and three others came. One of them ordered me off my land, saying that it belonged to his father. When I refused to leave, he kicked me and two others started beating my son Mahmoud, who was helping me that day. I was trying to defend my son when one of them started shooting in the air. We were adamant and stayed on our land until one of the settlers asked the six offenders to leave us, which they finally did. My children later found two of the bullets. After this incident I went to see my lawyer and during my absence an Israeli came to my house claiming to be the assistant of the military governor and took two of my children to the Ramallah military headquarters. They were held there for a while, before being allowed home. Meanwhile, on the advice of my lawyer, I had obtained two medical reports, one stating that I had suffered a concussion, the other stating that my son received a spinal injury. I took the reports to the police who informed me that the settlers were bringing a case against me for fighting them. 'But,' I said, 'they were seven and I was one, and they were the ones who came to me.'

"On November 2, 1981, as my son was tilling the 45 dunums, an Israeli officer, by the name of Yosef, came to him and hit him in the face. My son ran away, but the officer chased him. At this point I came out of the house, and the officer ordered me to go with him to the military headquarters in Ramallah, which I did. I stayed there until noon when the officer returned and, after confiscating my identity card and telling me that I must return the next day at 8:00 am, sent me home. The next day I reported as required, but had to wait until noon before the officer appeared and gave me back my identity card and apologised for not knowing that there was already a case between me and the military government regarding my land. I told him that there were several cases. But, of course, how is an officer like him to know about such cases. He does not own land that the settlers are trying to grab; land is not his main source of livelihood as it is for me and my family.

"We consider all that has happened to us as fate. I am convinced that this land is my land and my father's land and my grandfather's land. No matter what, I shall continue to defend my rights to my land in spite of the harassment I've faced. I shall await the verdicts of the pending cases, hoping justice will prevail and that I shall be able to continue working on my land without harassment and live a normal life again. This is what has happened to me up until now, January 5, 1982."

Signed: Sabri Gharib

The land in question which provides half of the family's basic source of income, also includes the site of the family's new house. If the land is taken, the house will in effect stand inside the Israeli settlement.